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CHILDREN OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH WHOSE MOTHERS HAVE KEPT THEIR CUSTODY

By

A. MADORAH DONAHUE

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, July 22, 1928.

SIR: There is transmitted herewith the report of a study of the care of children of illegitimate birth whose mothers have been enabled to keep the custody of their children. So little case record material showing concrete methods of social provision of this sort is available, that it is believed these case histories will prove useful to agencies dealing with the problems of illegitimacy and to training schools.

The study was made by A. Madorah Donahue, formerly a member of the staff of the social-service division of the bureau, who has written the report. Assistance on the report was given by Mary E. Milburn, also of the social-service division. The case histories upon which the report is based were prepared under Miss Donahue's supervision by staff members of institutions and agencies, to which the bureau is indebted for helpful cooperation.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

CHILDREN OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH WHOSE MOTHERS HAVE KEPT THEIR CUSTODY

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM AND METHODS OF MEETING IT

Until recently social agencies and institutions in this country caring for unmarried mothers during the first months of the child's life have followed one of two general plans for practically all the children born out of wedlock for whom they have assumed responsibility—either the child has been permanently separated from the mother very soon after his birth, or the mother has been required to keep him for a definite period of time, nursing him if possible. Although the experience of social workers who have observed these two plans in operation over long periods of time must necessarily be of service in pointing the way to others, little has been done to make available the results of their experience.

It is difficult to follow the records of any considerable number of children who have been separated from their mothers in early infancy, but studies of infant mortality rates tell the tragic story of the uneven chance for life itself that babies born out of wedlock have in contrast with those born in wedlock. A number of instances are found of suitable placements in foster homes, where the child's interests have been protected. Instances are found, too, of unsuitable placements that have worked much injury to helpless children. Adoption laws in most States fail to safeguard even those children who are accepted by foster parents with full legal responsibility.[1] It has been possible to obtain records of children whose custody has been retained by their mothers, because certain institutions and agencies that advocate the plan of keeping children of illegitimate birth with their mothers and that have insisted on it in many cases, have kept in touch with the children thus provided for and have been able to supply information as to its results.

Study of the origin of institutions and agencies rendering service to the unmarried mother reveals reasons for the development of the two distinct types of policies. Practically all except those of recent origin were established with one of two motives: The spiritual reclamation of women who were immoral or the protection of women who sought to conceal their maternity. Many of the latter type were commercial institutions operated for profit. That the child may be a factor in holding the mother to the path of rectitude is obvious;

[1] Adoption Laws in the United States: a summary of the development of adoption legislation and significant features of adoption statutes, with the text of selected laws, by Emelyn Foster Peck. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 148. Washington, 1925.

hence the institutions and agencies whose primary motive was moral rehabilitation usually tried to influence all the unmarried mothers with whom they dealt to keep their babies. That the acceptance of the baby by the institution or agency is an important means of safeguarding the mother from public knowledge of her motherhood is equally clear; so the institutions and agencies that were concerned chiefly with protecting the mother's privacy usually developed a policy of accepting babies from unmarried mothers at birth or very soon thereafter.[2]

There is now manifest a tendency on the part of a considerable number of institutions and agencies in both groups to modify their policies; and practically all those established in recent years, except the purely commercial ones, have had as their primary motive the protection of the child. This purpose has been shown in their efforts to assist the mother to adjust herself in the community, this adjustment including the assumption of responsibility for the child's welfare by his parents and their relatives.

The change in the policies of institutions and agencies may be ascribed to several causes, the first of which, it seems safe to assume, has been a realization of the high rate of infant mortality among babies separated from their mothers at a very early age. A second cause has been the awakening of the public conscience as to its responsibility for safeguarding the unmarried mother as a result of the publication of facts in regard to certain types of commercial institutions and agencies operated ostensibly to render assistance to unmarried mothers but in reality conducted as profitable business enterprises.[3] A third factor has been the demonstration by social case work that individualized treatment usually results in placing the responsibility for the child's care on his parents and other relatives.

Modern study of child psychology is developing an appreciation of the influences brought to bear on the child by certain environmental factors. Do children left in institutions or placed in foster homes without information as to their families remain satisfied? Do they accept the stories invented not so much to insure their peace of mind as to accommodate their relatives and their foster families? Are these children subject to doubts and fears as to their parentage? What of the issues created in association with other children—in school, at play, in many other contacts? Are adopted children who have been reared to believe that their foster parents are their own parents really deceived, or does the knowledge of their true status ultimately reach them? When it does, what is the effect on the child of this knowledge? What is the attitude of the child who faces, with his mother, the problems that frank recognition of the situation may bring, and what of the child who remains with his mother or her relatives, although an attempt is made, through some subterfuge, to conceal the real situation? These are some of the questions that social workers and others have been asking. This report does not answer these questions, but light is thrown on some of them by the histories upon which the study is based.

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[2] A Study of Maternity Homes in Minnesota and Pennsylvania. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 167. Washington, 1926.

[3] The Welfare of Children of Illegitimate Birth in Baltimore as affected by a Maryland law of 1916 governing the separation from their mothers of children under 6 months old. Part I. Mortality among infants born out of wedlock in 1915 and 1921, by Rena Rosenberg. Part II. Effect of the law on the policies and work of social agencies, by A. Madorah Donahue. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 144. Washington, 1925.

The child born out of wedlock is entitled to the same opportunity as any other child. But the child born out of wedlock belongs to a group of children in whose interest special effort must be exerted if they are to have this opportunity.

In recent years desire to provide necessary protection for children handicapped by illegitimate birth has found expression in two types of legislation: (1) Enactment of laws declaring it to be the responsibility of the father to furnish the child with the necessary maintenance and support and providing improved legal procedure for the enforcement of this responsibility; and (2) enactment of laws or formulation of policies by public departments, which have for their object keeping mothers and babies together during part, at least, of the nursing period.

The Minnesota children's laws that were enacted in 1917 contain far-reaching provisions for the protection of the child born out of wedlock. The law providing for establishment of paternity states that its purpose [4] is to safeguard the interests of children born out of wedlock and to secure for them the nearest possible approximation to the care, support, and education that they would be entitled to receive if born of lawful marriage. This law stands in strong contrast to the laws in some other States, which have as their purpose the protection of the State or county against the child's becoming a public charge.

Minimum standards for the protection of children born out of wedlock were adopted in 1919 by the child-welfare conferences called by the United States Children's Bureau.[5] As a result of regional conferences called the following year to consider standards of legal protection for children born out of wedlock, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws was requested to take this subject under consideration. After two years of work by a committee of the conference a uniform illegitimacy act was approved in 1922 and was recommended to the States for adoption. This act places the responsibility for support and maintenance of the child upon both parents, makes the father liable for the expenses of the mother's pregnancy and confinement, and makes the obligation of the father enforceable against his estate. The provisions of this act were adopted substantially by North Dakota, South Dakota, Nevada, and New Mexico in 1923, and by Iowa in 1925.

The first of the legal provisions for keeping mothers and babies together was the Maryland law of 1916 that prohibits the separation of a child younger than 6 months from his mother except under specified conditions. In 1917 North Carolina passed a similar law; South Carolina in 1923 passed a law applicable only to counties of 90,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, prohibiting removal of a child under 6 months of age from his mother for the purpose of placing in a foster home without written consent of certain officials, and in 1924 passed a law requiring that persons, agencies, or organizations removing a child under 6 months of age from his mother report to the child-placing bureau of the State board of public welfare the names

[4] Minn., Laws of 1917, ch. 210, sec. 3225 (*d*), as amended by act of Apr. 23, 1921, Laws of 1921, ch. 489.

[5] Minimum Standards for Child Welfare Adopted by the Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare, 1919, p. 13. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 62. Washington, 1920.

and addresses of those taking the child and of the parents of the child (this requirement does not apply if the child is known to have been born in wedlock). The North Dakota laws of 1923 also contain a recognition of the State's responsibility for safeguarding the child.[6]

In some localities having no legislative provision of this kind, public agencies concerned with the care of unmarried mothers have adopted regulations intended to prevent separation of mothers and babies during the first months of the children's lives. The Minnesota State Board of Control and the State Board of Health in 1918 formulated a policy by which maternity homes and hospitals are required to use every possible means to insure breast feeding for the babies in their care.[7] Through this policy babies of illegitimate birth are practically assured of three months' nursing by their mothers. An example of the efforts of a municipality to protect infants of illegitimate birth is found in the regulations of the department of health of the city of Milwaukee. This department in 1919 inaugurated a program for keeping mothers and babies together during a three-month nursing period.[8]

The results of these laws and policies have been to increase the baby's chances of being breast fed and of being kept by his mother after the period required has passed; and this assumption of responsibility by the child's mother has often led to the sharing of it by the father and by other relatives.

But in most places there are no laws nor official regulations for preventing the early separation of mother and baby. Plans have been developed, however, in a number of communities by which agencies and institutions have decided upon policies that insure the child protection and in many instances make possible his permanent care by his relatives. In the course of this study several cities were visited in which such definite policies for the protection and care of children born out of wedlock were in effect or in process of development by social organizations. In Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Kansas City, and St. Louis various institutions and agencies were cooperating in working out plans to standardize the services rendered to mothers and their children and to minimize duplication of work. These plans had been influenced considerably by local illegitimacy conferences affiliated with the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy.[9]

PURPOSE AND METHOD OF STUDY

This study, which is based on an analysis of the histories of children of illegitimate birth who have remained in the custody of their mothers or other relatives, was undertaken by the United States

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[6] Md., act of Apr. 11, 1916, ch. 210, Laws of 1916, p. 416 (Bagby's Annotated Code 1924, art. 27, secs. 535–539, pp. 1135–1136); N. C., act of Feb. 26, 1917, ch. 59, Public Laws of 1917, p. 113 (Consolidated Stat., 1919, ch. 82, sec. 4445, p. 1814); S. C., act of Mar. 25, 1924, No. 728, sec. 7, Acts and Joint Resolutions of 1924, p. 1191; N. Dak., act of Mar. 2, 1923, ch. 152, Laws of 1923, p. 144.

[7] Report of the [Minnesota] Children's Bureau, State Board of Control [Jan. 1–Oct. 31, 1918], p. 10. St. Paul, 1918.

[8] Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem, Part 3, p. 100. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 128. Washington, 1924.

[9] The Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy was established in 1915 during the meeting of the National Conference of Social Work in Baltimore. Its membership comprises social workers and others dealing with the problem of illegitimacy. The purpose of the conference is the advancement of standards of case work with unmarried mothers. It provides a cooperative exchange of information by correspondence and through the bulletin of the Child Welfare League of America.

Children's Bureau in response to the request of a number of social agencies and institutions dealing with unmarried mothers and their children. Its purpose was to ascertain the advantages and disadvantages of carrying out the plan of keeping these children in the custody of their mothers.

In selecting the cases for study only those children were included who were well established in their communities, maintaining the usual relationships that constitute the child's world, such as those in school, church, and Sunday school. The retention of the child's legal custody by the mother rather than the provision of actual physical care or support by the mother constituted one of the conditions of inclusion. No child was included unless he was 8 years of age or over. In fact, many of them had reached manhood and womanhood when the histories were written, in 1925. It is reasonable to suppose that in almost all, if not all, cases the plans for the child's care may be deemed to have covered a sufficiently long period of time to warrant judgment of the wisdom of the child's being kept in the custody of his mother.

In obtaining the material for this report a number of cities were visited. Conferences were held with the directors of institutions and agencies; case records were read to determine the value of the material available; and arrangements were made for workers in each city to write histories of the cases. The number of children of illegitimate birth fulfilling the age requirements who had remained in the custody of their mothers and about whom the cooperating organizations could give sufficient definite information to be of value in this study was 253.[10] Two hundred and forty-one mothers were represented by these 253 children.[11] The histories were supplied by 27 organizations in 11 cities: Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Dallas, Kansas City (Mo.), and Detroit.

Reports of the United States Children's Bureau have treated various aspects of illegitimacy as a community problem,[12] its bearing

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[10] In selecting the case histories for the study three cases were rejected because in each one the child was born in wedlock, though his mother was unmarried and pregnant when she came into the care of the organization that supplied the history. It is the status of the parents at the time of the child's birth, not of his conception, that determines legitimacy. In all States of the Union intermarriage of the parents at any time prior to the child's birth makes the issue of legitimate birth.

[11] Eleven of the mothers had more than 1 child considered in the study, 10 mothers had 2 children, and 1 mother had 3 children. Seven of those who had two children had had them by different fathers. The other three who had two children had had them both by the same father. The mother with three children had had them all by the same father.

[12] Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem—Part 1. A Brief Treatment of the Prevalence and Significance of Birth Out of Wedlock, the Child's Status, and the State's Responsibility for Care and Protection, with bibliographical material (Publication No. 66, Washington, 1920); Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem—Part 2. A Study of Original Records in the City of Boston and in the State of Massachusetts (Publication No. 75, Washington, 1921); Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem—Part 3. Methods of Care in Selected Urban and Rural Communities (Publication No. 128, Washington, 1924); Illegitimacy Laws of the United States and Certain Foreign Countries (Publication No. 42, Washington, 1919); Standards of Legal Protection for Children Born Out of Wedlock; a report of regional conferences held under the auspices of the U. S. Children's Bureau and the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy (Publication No. 77, Washington, 1921); Infant Mortality—Results of a Field Study in Baltimore, Maryland, based on births in one year (Publication No. 119, Washington, 1923); The Welfare of Infants of Illegitimate Birth in Baltimore as affected by a Maryland law of 1916, governing the separation from their mothers of children under 6 months old—Part I. Mortality among Infants Born Out of Wedlock in 1915 and 1921—Part II. Effect of the Law on the Policies and Work of Social Agencies (Publication No. 144, Washington, 1925); A Study of Maternity Homes in Minnesota and Pennsylvania (Publication No. 167, Washington, 1926); Analysis and Tabular Summary of State Laws Relating to Illegitimacy in the United States in effect January 1, 1928, and the text of selected laws (Chart No. 16, in press).

on infant mortality and on child dependency and neglect, public responsibility for care of children born out of wedlock, and standards and existing provision for legal protection. Inquiries have also been made by the bureau into the methods and standards of typical institutions and agencies rendering service to unmarried mothers and their children. It was, therefore, decided that in this study data concerning agencies and institutions should be obtained only on policies that influence the practicability of plans designed to make it possible for unmarried mothers to retain the custody of their children. The future opportunity of a child born out of wedlock is affected materially by the policies of the organization assisting his mother—the thoroughness with which the organization investigates the conditions and problems that affect the placement of the mother and child, the attitude of the organization toward keeping babies with their mothers and toward the mothers' assuming the status of legitimate mothers, its provision of material relief when needed, its efforts to fix paternal responsibility, and its willingness to continue assistance beyond the period of actual care. Information on all these points was collected from the cooperating agencies on schedule forms prepared by the Children's Bureau.

An outline for case histories was prepared also, and the workers cooperating were asked to follow it in writing the histories. This outline provided for data on the following points: The personal history and the character of the child's father and mother, the chronological history of the case, the status of the child at the time of the last information obtained, the outlook for the child, the attitude of his mother and other relatives toward their own course in having accepted the child and assumed responsibility for him, and also the effect on the child of the knowledge of his illegitimate birth if he was aware of it. (See p. 103.)

POLICIES OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT COOPERATED IN STUDY

As the organizations providing the histories were selected, in the main, because they had a modern approach to their problems and were therefore likely to render to their clients better than average service, they can hardly be taken as representative of the ordinary agency working for the unmarried mother and her child. The 27 organizations included 14 maternity homes, 6 children's agencies, 1 agency rendering special assistance and protective care to girls, 1 agency doing family-welfare work and child-welfare work, 2 public departments doing family-welfare and relief work (both under the same State department), and 3 juvenile courts. In recent years hospitals, through their social-service departments, have been referring unmarried mothers to social agencies during pregnancy, whenever possible, to insure proper provision for them in case they can not go back to their own people after the birth of the child. Of the mothers included in this study 79 per cent came into the care of the organizations during pregnancy or before their babies were 2 years of age. About half of the cooperating organizations were maternity homes. A number of the mothers in the maternity homes had entered the homes after their confinement in a hospital, coming to the homes directly from the hospital. In most of the cases in which the child was 2 years of age or over when he came to the knowledge of the organization, the mother or her relatives had applied for boarding-home care or institutional care. The children of unmarried mothers had come to the knowledge of the juvenile courts through some special circumstances other than the mere fact of illegitimacy. In some instances the children were neglected, dependent, or delinquent; some of these children were as old as 15 when they came to the attention of the court. The cases included from one city (Detroit) had become known to the court because of the mothers' application for assistance under the mothers' aid law.

INVESTIGATIONS

Twenty-six of the twenty-seven organizations made some investigations for the purpose of obtaining information that would be of value in assisting the mother to make plans for herself and her child, and one—a maternity home—acquired only such facts as were necessary for its records from contact with the girl's relatives and friends during her stay in the institution. The large majority of the agencies (18 of the 27) used case-work methods of investigation, and 8—all maternity homes—limited their investigation to facts related by the mother herself and those contributed by her visitors and gleaned from her correspondence. Obviously the scope of such investigations depended largely on the personality and attitude of the workers in

contact with the mothers. Four of the eight maternity homes reported that some of the girls were received from social agencies making investigations. One of these institutions kept no records, considering that they constituted a breach of confidence.

KEEPING MOTHERS AND BABIES TOGETHER

PLANS

The experience of social workers, physicians, and others in contact with unmarried mothers shows that care of the baby by his mother during the early months of infancy usually results in the assumption of responsibility for his permanent care by his mother or by other relatives. All except one of the organizations cooperating in this study had a definite policy of fixing the permanent responsibility for the care of the child upon the mother whenever possible, and they tried also to develop resources for the child with his relatives. The majority of the maternity homes and other organizations giving assistance to unmarried mothers during the first months of the infant's life required breast feeding for a specified period; the others required it to whatever extent seemed practicable, but did not specify any particular period of time. The one maternity home that made no definite effort to influence the mother's decision as to keeping her child reported that two-thirds of the 75 mothers cared for by the institution during the year preceding that of the study took their babies with them when they left the institution.

In one city two maternity homes required a minimum period of six weeks of breast feeding, and in the same city an agency that accepted children for boarding-home care would not accept babies under 6 weeks of age. Thus the child-caring agency, by this requirement, had assisted in putting into practice this health-conservation measure, influencing the policies of the two maternity homes and probably helping to save the lives of many infants. In another city it was found that most agencies and institutions required six months' residence of the mother with the child. This was due, doubtless, to a State law that controls earlier separations of babies from their mothers.[1]

One hundred and nine of the 191 mothers with children under 2 years of age at the time of application to the agency had clearly conceived plans in regard to keeping their children, and only 8 of them wanted to give the children up. The majority of these 109 mothers planned to care for their babies personally, but in order to make this possible many of them needed financial relief or help in finding employment. A few mothers had planned to place their children in relatives' homes or in boarding homes. Apparently, with a few exceptions, the mother's decision to keep the child was not influenced by the organization. Many of the mothers who came into the care of the agencies and institutions during pregnancy were determined to keep their babies, and so expressed themselves, even before the babies were born; many of them were willing to make sacrifices for this purpose. In some cases the plan of the mother was to provide for her baby temporarily in the hope that a relative would

[1] Md., Laws of 1916, ch. 219, pp. 416–418.

become interested and later take the child into her home; in others the mother was unable to meet the financial burden of supporting her child and asked help in order that she might retain his custody.

The fact that the 82 mothers who apparently had no plan for their babies and the 8 mothers who planned to give them up kept them ultimately was, in all probability, due to the influence of the workers who dealt with the cases.

METHODS

Although not all unmarried mothers who come to social agencies and institutions for care are in need of material assistance the majority of them are not able unaided to pay the expenses entailed by their pregnancy and confinement and to provide for themselves and their babies. Records of maternity homes usually show a considerable proportion of cases in which the mother or her relatives pay none of the cost of the maternity care given by the home, or only part of it. As most maternity homes require mothers to work in the institutions it is fair to assume that most mothers earn at least part of their way. The need for material assistance, however, is clear from the very fact that so many women seek shelter in maternity homes; if they had adequate means many of them could find methods of adjusting their own problems, even if their plans were not in accordance with such sound social principles as would insure adequate protection for the children.

In the course of this study workers in the institutions and agencies commented frequently on the need in their communities for financial resources to meet the actual needs of the mothers and their children after the period of care by maternity homes. Though some assistance was rendered by these organizations themselves their contribution in many cases was felt by their own workers to be inadequate. Usually this contribution took the form of giving the mother a start by providing her with necessary clothing for herself and her baby when she left the institution to go to work. Arrangements for temporary care of the baby were made also in some instances.

In 18 of the 27 organizations studied the staff undertook responsibility for giving or developing such relief. In several of these, however, relief was limited to accepting the child for care free of charge or at a rate of board that the mother could pay. The agencies and institutions that were able to meet the relief problem adequately represented only a small proportion of the number studied. Eight organizations did not give any relief but referred cases to relief agencies.

From one maternity home the only information on this point was the statement of the superintendent that all the mothers discharged either went to relatives with their babies or took employment where they could provide for the babies. This worker appeared not to appreciate the possibility that the status of the mother and child might change at some later time.

Certain methods of assistance used by some of the organizations indicated a real appreciation of the problem that the mother meets in adjusting herself in her community. Four maternity homes had departments of child care in which for certain periods of time mothers

could board their babies. Other homes made arrangements with child-caring institutions for this service. Usually these maternity homes and child-caring institutions were willing to care for the babies at a rate that the mothers were able to pay, even though it did not meet the entire cost. Instances were noted in which babies were cared for without any charge when the mother appeared to be unable to pay anything. Some of the institutions encouraged the mother to return for assistance, accepting both the mother and the child repeatedly when the mother was out of employment or in poor health, or for some other reason was unable to meet her financial obligations.

It is generally assumed that a mother in good health should be able to support herself and one child. It is the experience, however, of persons working with unmarried mothers that because of circumstances that militate against their opportunities to obtain employment a mother with a child of illegitimate birth finds more difficulty in supporting the child than a mother who has been married.

Besides finding it difficult to obtain employment, the unmarried mother finds it difficult to obtain relief, for both private agencies and public departments administering relief appear to give preference to the married mother over the unmarried one. Also, the unmarried mother sometimes hesitates to bring her case to the attention of a relief agency because she does not wish to disclose her true status.

At the present time public aid to children in their own homes ("mothers' pensions" or "mothers' allowances") is provided in 44 States, the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Hawaii.[2] The statutes regulating the granting of this aid vary in their provisions for granting aid to married and unmarried women. The laws of 3 States specifically authorize aid to unmarried mothers, and in some other States the law may be so interpreted. Among the statements concerning relief for unmarried mothers made in the course of this study by social workers were several that emphasized the importance of united effort by all persons concerned for the welfare of the child born out of wedlock, to obtain for this group of children the full benefit of mothers' assistance funds in all the States where such funds are provided.

The importance of facilities for financial assistance to mothers attempting to provide for children born out of wedlock was emphasized in the regional conferences on standards of legal protection for children born out of wedlock held under the auspices of the United States Children's Bureau in 1920 in Chicago and New York. The resolutions of the Chicago conference included the following: "In cases where there is inadequate support from the father we recommend careful consideration as to ways and means by which the mother of a child born out of wedlock may receive assistance in supporting her child from other sources." The resolutions of the New York conference included the following: "The mother should be persuaded by good case work to keep her child at least during the nursing period whenever possible. When necessary, steps should be

[2] A Tabular Summary of State Laws Relating to Public Aid to Children in Their Own Homes in Effect January 1, 1925, and the text of the laws of certain States. Revised Edition. U. S. Children's Bureau Chart No. 3. Washington, 1925. (See also mimeographed addenda to chart, 1928.)

taken to secure for mother and child the benefits of the so-called mothers' pension acts." [3]

No general system of acceptance of unmarried-mother cases for relief by private family-welfare agencies was found in any of the cities visited. The policy of most of these agencies appeared to be to accept those cases in which the mother was one of a family group, although the mother who was alone often presented a more urgent problem. A tendency toward centralizing the care of unmarried mothers was observed in several cities, one result of which was the assumption by a specified agency of responsibility for providing relief in the form of boarding-home care for children. This was noted in Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Cleveland. Assistance in providing boarding-home care was especially common in Boston. In several cities it was the policy of agencies to provide boarding homes for the mothers with their children, although the more usual plan was to place the children without their mothers.

ATTITUDE TOWARD MOTHER'S ASSUMING STATUS OF LEGITIMATE MOTHER

Much has been said about the stigma that rests on the child born out of wedlock and on his mother. By many persons an attitude of discrimination against them is justified as a necessary means of safeguarding the interests of the legal family. This attitude has been stated by Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield, as follows:

> The stigma which rests upon the mother and the child is inseparable from society's respect for monogamy. As for this stigma—just so long as it adds to our self-respect to think of our own parents as having observed custom and the moral law, just so long will it be impossible for us to feel an equal respect for those persons whose misfortune it is to have had parents who did not observe the moral law.[4]

Taking another point of view Prof. Ernst Freund has said:

> The view that the interest of the child is the paramount interest to which all other considerations should yield is not only attractive but socially sound. The view, on the other hand, that in the interest of the institution of marriage the fruit of illicit relations must be penalized and made odious is intrinsically abhorrent. But it is clear that intense prejudices prevail upon the subject.[5]

Inequality of opportunity growing out of the attitude of discrimination in the interest of legal marriage and the stigma itself have been responsible for attempts on the part of the mother and others to conceal the facts. The experience of most workers is that the mother fears to face the community with the truth and that her family is usually anxious to conceal the truth by providing for the child among persons to whom his parentage is not known.

Throughout the histories ran the story of deception. It was practiced by the parents of the child, by other relatives, and by the agency workers themselves. It was the policy of a few organizations to refuse to cooperate with mothers in their assumption of the status of legitimate mothers. The ethical problems presented in case work with unmarried mothers are very grave, and they are fraught with

[3] Standards of Legal Protection for Children Born Out of Wedlock: a report of regional conferences held under the auspices of the U. S. Children's Bureau and the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy. pp. 15, 19. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 77. Washington. 1921.
[4] Ibid., p. 99.
[5] Ibid., p. 27.

perplexing difficulties on every hand. Social workers often honestly desire to refrain from cooperation in these deceptions, yet they feel powerless to direct the mothers in a wiser course. To say that in order to be successful and enduring relationships must be established on a basis of truth is one thing, but to go so far as to assume responsibility for engineering the lives of human beings toward this end is a different matter. The conscientious social worker who seriously contemplates the position of the mother and the child will usually hesitate to go further than to advise—perhaps insist on—honesty in intimate relationships, such as with close relatives, families who employ the mothers in their homes, and prospective husbands.

There is a difference of opinion among social workers and other persons as to their obligations to the public and to those directly involved—the mother, her child, and her family—in the matter of concealing the true status of the mother and the child. As a means of ascertaining the extent to which organizations that assist unmarried mothers deem it expedient to help them with plans for concealment, an effort was made to learn the practice in the organizations cooperating in this study.

Representatives of 19 of the 26 organizations which gave information on this point stated that they would cooperate with a mother by recognizing her as a legal mother if she chose to assume that status. Two of these 19 persons were court workers. One spoke only for herself, the court having no policy on this point, and the other stated that the policy of the court was to advise mothers to admit their true status but that the workers addressed the mother as "Mrs." when she insisted on this. One worker stated that her agency was decidedly opposed to such subterfuges and yielded only when a mother was insistent. It was noted that almost all these workers felt that the truth should be told to employers, immediate relatives (in most instances), and prospective husbands. The policy of one organization was to suggest to mothers that they assume a legal status for their protection and that of their children. Representatives of six organizations would not assist in any plan for deception; they insisted that each mother with whom they dealt live the truth, and they refused to cooperate in any other plan. One of the workers in this group stated her own position only, as the organization that she represented (a court) had no policy on this point.

The statement by the worker in charge of one of these organizations, that it refused to cooperate in any plan for deception, was contradicted by a statement given in one of the case histories supplied by this organization. According to the history, the status of the child and the mother, both of whom had lived for some years in this institution (the mother being employed there), was not known, either in the community or at the school attended by the child. The inference was that this mother had assumed the status of a legal mother to conceal the facts regarding the status of her child and that the institution had cooperated with her.

The following quotations from the statements of some of the workers are significant:

> You will see that we pursue the via media.
>
> First: We put pressure upon the girl to acknowledge her condition to those people immediately concerned with her; i. e., parents, or, if she is planning to marry, the man himself.

Second: We do not put pressure on her to call herself wife or widow, but we do cooperate with the concealment by addressing her as "Mrs." when writing or in other ways where we feel that a knowledge of her true station would expose her to aggression on the part of the community.

I realize fully that this compromise may retard the education of the public at large and so share in the evils of the old-fashioned policy of concealment, but at the same time I feel that the girl is by public opinion placed at such a disadvantage in her upward struggle that she deserves some privileged treatment for her protection.

Whilst consenting to this, however, we really do try to get over to the girls the essentials of the square deal, both with relatives and with the prospective husbands, and the paramount importance of facing close relationships on an honest basis.

Many times we have found that the girls have assumed on their own responsibility the title of "Mrs." and wear a wedding ring, giving as a reason to us that they find it protects them and saves many questions. If a girl wishes to do this we do not object, but we do insist upon the truth existing between her and the employer, or her own family with whom she is intimately connected.

We do not address our mothers as Mrs. on their mail, unless they have been known in the community as Mrs. and have found occupation independently of this office.

If a girl works without her child she almost never assumes the title of "Mrs." In many instances we have permitted the girls to find their own positions, and we have not told of the existence of boarded children to employers with whom we felt sure it would make a difference in the girls' status. We believe in the truth and in facing the facts. These are general policies, but every case must be decided according to the individual mother's circumstances. It is very evident to us that if girls live constantly under a falsehood it is very definitely weakening to their character, in that they are constantly falsifying their whole life; therefore, for those who are intimately connected with the girls, as in their own families or at work, we demand that the truth be given; to the casual neighbor or visitor we do not consider it necessary to explain a girl's situation.

I approve of the girls putting "Mrs." to their own names but never taking an alias. In getting them positions I either give the impression that they have been deserted or the husband is dead, giving the same impression in the homes where the girls board. I have tried letting them go under their true colors and have found that the landlady or superintendent over them in the factories or stores has sooner or later referred to this in a way which has hurt the girl's self-respect.

One worker stated that she had been concerned as to the proper course for her to pursue in this matter. After much consideration and consultation with persons who were, she felt, competent to advise her, she decided that it was proper for her to cooperate with a mother who assumed the status of a legal mother. In addition to the protection afforded the mother and the child this worker was actuated in her decision as to her policy by her feeling that she was obligated to refrain from giving information about persons which in her judgment might cause injury to them.

In contrast to these points of view is that of the superintendent of a maternity home whose policy was to insist that mothers face the world with the truth. Here the policy was to address all the mothers as "Miss" while they were in the home and afterwards. This worker has followed up the cases of a number of children who have gone to the public school while living in the institution, as well as after discharge, and is emphatic in stating that none of them has ever been discriminated against. In general, the experience of this worker has been that only good results have come from the policy of open admission of the true status of the mother and child.

Dr. Richard C. Cabot, in discussing the obligation of the social worker to base his dealings and relationships on the truth and not on falsehood, has referred to the policy of cooperating with unmarried mothers in deceiving the public in regard to their status. He says: "But so far as we take any part at all we are bound to deal fairly with the public and not actively to assist in foisting a lie upon it." [6]

It will readily be seen that the motive of these workers was chiefly a desire to help their charges. That their policies were inspired by a conscientious consideration of the problem can not be doubted. Is the experience of the majority to be taken as an indication that the treatment accorded the child of known illegitimate birth is such as to necessitate concealment of illegitimacy? Are these subterfuges actually necessary to insure the child and his mother a place in the community? Many persons appear to think they are. On the other hand, there is the experience of those workers whose policy has been to insist that these mothers live the truth, and workers in this group frequently point to successful results of their policies.

It appears that the matter resolves itself into a question of the personal approach to the mother and the care taken to insure that she and her child have a protected position in the community in which they begin their ordeal of reinstatement in society.

EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH PATERNAL RESPONSIBILITY

Since the observation of a considerable number of workers in the field of social help for unmarried mothers and their children is that the need for relief is pressing, it is to be expected that these workers would utilize all practicable means of providing financial help for their charges. Foremost among the potential sources of support is the father of the child. Adequate provision for maintenance has an important bearing on the child's opportunity for a permanent home with his own people. A number of mothers who had received no help from their families had asked assistance in providing for institutional and foster-home care because they could not pay for boarding care without help.

As the maternity home as a rule had contact with the mother either before or very soon after the birth of her child one would naturally expect that these agencies would make a uniform practice of endeavoring to establish paternity, either through their own efforts or through close cooperation with other agencies equipped to do this. Only 6 of the 14 maternity homes from which histories were obtained followed a definite routine in attempting to fix paternal responsibility. Five of the 6 child-caring agencies and 6 other agencies—courts, public relief agencies, and family-welfare agencies—undertook as a matter of routine to establish paternity. The one protective agency cooperating had no routine method of procedure.

One maternity home made absolutely no effort to fix paternity; it was significant that this organization reported a high proportion of

[6] Cabot, Richard C., M. D.: "Veracity in social work." Survey, vol. 52, no. 2 (Apr. 15, 1924), pp. 67–67, 113–117.

cases in which babies were surrendered for placement by their mothers soon after birth (during the year immediately preceding the year of the study, 25 babies were surrendered out of 75 cared for). Nine organizations had considerable limitations in their plans for attempting to fix paternal responsibility. In one of these this effort was limited to bringing about marriage if it was desired by both the girl and the man and if it gave promise of being permanent. One organization made a rule of sending for the man to come to its office to confer on the matter; if this did not bring results the effort was dropped. The superintendent of one maternity home endeavored to ascertain whether the alleged father was in the city, and if he was she tried to induce the mother to initiate court proceedings to compel him to support the child. This worker had a conviction that to proceed otherwise would induce failure, as she was sure that in all such cases the men would leave the State if privately approached. Five organizations left the question to the mother, following whatever plan she chose—whether private approach to the man, court procedure, or effort to arrange marriage. One organization did not go quite so far in complying with the mother's wishes; but if she asked that the man responsible for her child be communicated with, this was done, and if she wished to have the case taken to court she was shown how to proceed. Beyond these points this organization did not go because it was the opinion of the management that to do so would tend to foster the association between the girl and the man, in all probability with disastrous moral consequences for the girl.

The influence of the organizations was probably an important factor in many of the 86 cases in which paternal responsibility was established, either by court action or by voluntary agreement.

Only a few of the histories of cases in which paternal responsibility had not been established gave reasons why action for this purpose was not taken. The reasons given are the same as those generally given by case-work agencies for their failure to fix paternal responsibility in a greater number of cases than they do: Insufficient information given by the mother; absence of the man from the State or lack of knowledge of his whereabouts; unwillingness of the mother that the man be approached at all; sexual promiscuity or other conduct of the mother that would preclude probability of establishing paternity if action were taken.

Granted that the mother's wishes should be given due consideration in the matter of approaching the man it would seem that many mothers unwilling to risk the embarrassment or the publicity of court procedure might be persuaded to permit an interview with the alleged father of the child at least. The gratifying results of suitable private approach to the man in some of these cases, which are typical of the experience of many case-work agencies, recommend the measure as an essential step. Aside from the helpful results accomplished by the establishing of paternity and the obtaining of financial support for the child, contact with the man is advisable from the standpoint of the social investigations. An interview with the man named by a girl as the father of her child has sometimes been most helpful in planning for the future of the mother and the child.

Earlier inquiry by the United States Children's Bureau into this matter of effort to procure for the mother assistance from the father of her child has also revealed the fact that agencies and institutions engaged in work for this group of mothers and children are not availing themselves of this resource so fully as is desirable.[7]

Comparison of the histories supplied by two case-work agencies that were organized at about the same time and that apparently had similar standards and policies disclosed great difference in the information recorded concerning the fathers. In 19 of the 26 histories contributed by one of these agencies there was information from which some idea could be formed of the man's general character, his ability to support the child, and the possibility of legal establishment of paternity. Three of the 7 histories that gave no information stated the reason why it was lacking. In none of the 16 histories obtained from the other agency was the information on the father of the child at all complete. Only 1 history contained fairly adequate information; 7 contained very little information; and 8, none. The difference in the kind of records kept by the two organizations can be explained only on the ground that more intensive effort was made in the first agency than in the second one.

In 35 per cent of the total number of histories information in regard to the fathers was completely lacking, and in many more it was very limited. How is the meager information on the fathers of these children to be interpreted? Does it indicate an utter lack of appreciation, on the part of many organizations working for unmarried mothers and their children, of the importance of information about the father in making plans for the child's future? Considered from the standpoint of case work the omission is not understandable except among certain older organizations, whose motive has always been moral reclamation of the mothers and whose workers have had a sincere conviction that their aims would be accomplished best by discouraging any association between the girl and the man involved with her. For this reason these workers have tried to avoid any reference to the man while the girl was in their care.

SUPERVISION OF CASES AFTER DISCHARGE FROM ACTUAL CARE

Although some unmarried mothers who come to social agencies for assistance need definite supervision for considerable periods of time after discharge from actual care, many need only the friendly relation that gives the mother the assurance that she may turn to the organization for direction and help.

Thirteen organizations, including 5 maternity homes, continued contact until they felt that the mother and her child had completed their adjustment in the community; 1 (a child-placing agency) continued contact indefinitely: 8 (maternity homes) maintained in-

[7] Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem.—Part 2. A study of Original Records in the City of Boston and in the State of Massachusetts. Part 3. Methods of Care in Selected Urban and Rural Communities. U. S. Children's Bureau Publications Nos. 75 and 128, Washington, 1921 and 1924.

formal contact though they lacked definite plan and equipment for this service; 3 (juvenile courts) supervised the case only as long as the mother and child were being dealt with by the court; 1 (the children's division of a State department) gave no after-care supervision; and 1 (a maternity home) made no effort to keep in touch with the mother or child, apparently failing to appreciate the necessity for such effort.

The unmarried mother who plans to keep her child with her without moving to a new place is confronted with a difficult task in making adjustments to her community. The various circumstances that affect her interests in matters of employment and residence require that in most cases she have further assistance from the organization that has sheltered her immediately before and after the birth of the child. Although many of the maternity homes maintained only an informal friendly relation it is safe to assume that this contact, indicating as it does the helpful spirit of the organizations, has been the means of assisting some of the mothers over crises in the ordeal of fitting themselves and their children into their communities.

Those organizations whose policies indicated an appreciation of the future needs of the mothers and their children were found to have provided for continuing contact with them by means that insured their protection, with due consideration for the delicacy of the task. The success of the method depended on the worker's willingness to interpret the service to the mother in terms of sympathetic help, rather than as an effort to control her life. A few organizations had aftercare workers who undertook this continuing contact as their definite task. By gradually becoming acquainted with the mother during the time when the organization was caring for her one of these aftercare workers would take over the case from the original worker without the mother's being aware of the transition.

Undoubtedly the failure of some organizations to keep in touch with children who have come under their care, as shown by the small number of histories of children that were obtainable from them, was sometimes due to respect for the desire of the mother and her family that as a means of protecting the privacy of their plans for the child association with the organization be ended as soon as possible. There are cases in which workers are unable to continue contact with the mother because of her attitude. Such cases, however, are rare with those organizations whose work is of high standard. The lack of information on the fate of many children whom the agencies and institutions had assisted appeared to be due chiefly to changes in the personnel of the organizations. The difficulty in attempting to have after-care work done by a staff of changing workers is easily apparent. Whenever one worker had remained with an organization through a long period of years it was found that a considerable proportion of the cases were known to the agency, and it was by such workers that the greater number of the histories studied in this report were supplied.

Although much that is done by private and public agencies in the field of social service can not be measured in terms of actual results, it is evident that a considerable portion of their work can be so meas-

ured. Organizations that render assistance to the unmarried mother and her child in accordance with advanced standards are providing definitely for continuing contact, which serves the double purpose of furnishing advice and assistance to the mothers and of preserving the record of service rendered. This record, continuing through the life of the children, will show oftentimes the wisdom or unwisdom of the plans formulated for them by the organizations. Some of the older organizations, as has been shown, were able to provide definite information on the children years after rendering service to them. This contribution has served to point the way to newer organizations.

THE CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS

PLANS FOR CARE OF CHILDREN

ORIGINAL PLANS

Although only a small proportion of the children were permanently adjusted by the first plan made with the assistance of the organization caring for them, this first plan is worth studying, as it shows the means by which the mothers were enabled to retain the custody of their children. Of the children who had been adjusted successfully by the first plan the majority had been kept with their mothers. The plans made for the 61 children who were beyond their infancy when referred to the organizations are considered as secondary plans, rather than original ones.

Study of the first plans for the 192 children who were infants when they were referred to the organizations shows the variety of arrangements that were necessary to meet the needs of these children and their mothers. Although certain types of homes were used more generally in some cities than in others, it was apparent from the records that more or less individual treatment was given, according to the particular needs of the case.

The most significant placements were those of the 44 children provided for either with or without their mothers in the homes of grandparents or other relatives, where they shared the family life. Three other children were provided for in homes maintained by the mother alone or by the mother and father, who married soon after the child's birth. Fifty-three children were placed first in family homes where the mothers did housework. The advantages of this arrangement, which enables the mother to be self-supporting and to nurse her baby, have led many social workers to use this plan rather generally for unmarried mothers. Forty-eight children were boarded first in family homes. A large majority of them were boarded without their mothers, the mother either taking a position at domestic service elsewhere or returning to her parents' home, where for various reasons it was not possible for her to have the baby with her. In most of the cases in which mothers and babies were boarded together the mother returned to the kind of employment that she had had before pregnancy and the boarding mother cared for the baby while the mother was at work. Some of the mothers paid in full for the child's board, others paid part of it, the agency helping either by obtaining a reduction of rates to an amount the mother could afford to pay or by paying part of the board itself. Thirty-eight children were cared for in institutions, mostly maternity homes, where the children stayed either with or without their mothers. For most of these children the mothers paid full or partial board; in only a few instances was the entire expense met by the

institution. One child was placed in a free foster home but was later returned to his mother. The original arrangements for placing the remaining five children were not reported.

PERMANENCY OF PLANS

For some of the children included in the study successive changes in living arrangements over a period of years ended with the mother's marriage or with the acceptance of the child by relatives. These two arrangements, milestones in the life of a mother and her child, were often found to mark the ending of temporary arrangements and the beginning of a settled plan of care. The stabilizing influence that these arrangements exerted proved them to be a desirable outcome for most of these children.

The very fact that a considerable proportion of the children considered in this study had to be provided for in homes away from their relatives after discharge from actual care by the organizations that assisted their mothers during pregnancy and afterwards indicates the shifting from place to place which is characteristic of the type of care given to many children of illegitimate birth. While no authoritative data are at hand for comparison of the changing environment of this group of children with that of any other comparable group of children in need of special care, the question arises whether on the whole children born out of wedlock who are under the supervision of the best type of social agencies really are subjected to a changing environment to a greater degree than dependent, neglected, and delinquent children in general who are under similar supervision.

Although some of the children were moved only in order to go to the mother's home when she married or to go to the home of relatives who had decided to accept them, a large proportion of the children were moved from one type of home to another or from one home to another of the same type because the earlier arrangement was not satisfactory. For some children several changes were necessary before a more or less permanent adjustment was made for them in an institution, in a boarding home, or in the mother's place of domestic employment. A few were constantly shifted around from place to place until they became old enough to make their own arrangements.

Information was obtained as to the number of placements of 186 of the 192 children who were under 2 years of age at the time they came to the attention of the agency.

A relatively small proportion of these 186 children (12 per cent) were found to be well adjusted in the first placement made for them by the organizations. Most of these children were either with relatives who had taken them into their homes during very early infancy or with their mothers, who had married. Approximately three-fourths of the children who had had only one placement were from 8 to 10 years of age, the remainder being from 11 to 14. All of them had lived in the homes where they were placed for a sufficient time to indicate that the plan was likely to be permanent.

A considerably larger proportion (35 per cent) of the 186 children were well adjusted by a second plan, one change being made after the original arrangement. For more than half of these chil-

dren this change was caused by the marriage of the mothers. Some of the children in this group were accepted by relatives after a period of care in boarding homes or of living with their mothers in domestic positions; others remained in boarding homes or were transferred to institutions. More than half the children in this group were from 8 to 10 years of age at the time of the last information; a slightly smaller group were from 11 to 17, and three children were from 18 to 20.

Twenty-five per cent of the 186 children appeared to be adjusted with promise of permanency by the third plan made for them. Here, too, changes were caused by marriage of the mother, acceptance of the child by relatives, changing of boarding home, or placement in an institution. About one-third of these children were from 8 to 10 years of age, and the same proportion were in each of the other two age groups—from 11 to 17 and 18 and over—the oldest being 30 years of age.

Twenty-seven per cent of the children were placed more than three times. This group of cases included some in which it was stated that the mother had been in "several" or "many" domestic positions with the child or that the child had been in "a number" of boarding homes. Nearly half of these children were finally adjusted by the marriage of the mother. This group was about equally divided as to age, nearly half being from 8 to 10, and half from 11 to 17. Three children were 18 and over, the oldest being 31 years of age.

Three of the histories were remarkable on account of the number of changes recorded: One history stated that the mother had had 10 domestic positions in 4 years, keeping the child with her; one, that because of the mother's poor health the child had been boarded in institutions or families while the mother was in hospitals, involving 14 changes in 7 years; one, that the mother had had 26 domestic positions in 15 years, keeping the child with her.

It was evident that many of the mothers sought advice and assistance from the organizations in making new arrangements for their children. Instances were noted in which children were changed from one boarding home to another in an effort to improve the health of the child. Several children were moved because of behavior difficulties. In all probability the histories in which information concerning changes in living arrangements was lacking included some in which changes from home to home were made for the child without the guidance essential to a wise choice of plan. The dependence of some of the mothers on the judgment of others was apparent. Some, actuated by a desire to do the best possible for their children, consulted the agency workers before making arrangements. There were cases in which the child had been removed from the care of his mother through persuasion or by court order, but these were very few.

A number of the children were grown at the time of the last information, and nine had established their own homes. That some of the children whose mothers had married were not in homes maintained by the mothers was due to various causes, such as unsuccessful marriage, death of the mother or stepfather, neglect by the mother, or mental defect or delinquency of the child.

STATUS OF MOTHERS AND CHILDREN IN COMMUNITY

Because of the marriage of a large proportion of the mothers (about 60 per cent) and the adjustment of many children into the homes of relatives during the early years of their lives, it is not surprising to find that the great majority of the children included in the study were known to their communities as legitimate children; in only 13 of the histories was it specified that the child's true status was known to anyone except immediate relatives. In these few cases the history stated that the child was treated kindly and that he suffered no discrimination among other children.

The moral support of relatives and of other families with whom unmarried mothers and their children find homes looms large as a factor in the acceptance of these mothers and children into the life of the community. Obviously the status of the mother and her child born out of wedlock has an important influence on the position of the child during his early life. Forty-two of the children who were under 2 years of age when first placed by an agency went with their mothers to the homes of relatives and 2 were placed with relatives without their mothers. It is probable that some deception was practiced in keeping from neighbors and friends the truth in regard to the status of many of these children; some of the families moved into new neighborhoods, the child's mother posed as a widow, or the family represented the child as being adopted or as belonging to a relative or friend living elsewhere. A few of the mothers returned to the homes of relatives soon after the birth of the children and acknowledged their true status in the community.

Although certain mothers were willing to make sacrifices for their children, even to the extent of cutting themselves off from their families, in a much greater number of cases relatives were sympathetic and cooperated with the mother in providing for the child. The financial assistance given by relatives and their kindly interest went far toward reestablishing the mother in her own self-respect. All but six of the mothers were reported as being glad they had accepted the responsibility for their children and had retained close contact with them.

The following list summarizes the attitude of the mothers' relatives toward the children:

	Number of children
Total	253
Friendly throughout	129
Child received into home at once	60
Child received into home later	24
Child not received into home	45
Friendly at first, unfriendly later; child received into home at once	4
Unfriendly at first, friendly later	13
Child received into home later	2
Child not received into home	11
Unfriendly throughout; child not received into home	9
No contact with child	[1] 57
Not reported	41

[1] Includes children whose mothers' relatives were not in the United States.

The practice of deception in regard to the child's status was not confined entirely to the cases of children who went to live with relatives. Some children were placed at board, their mothers returning to the homes of their parents. The records afford little information concerning the status of such a mother in the home where the child was boarded. What did the child surmise about the home of his mother and about the reason why he did not live with her as did other children? Is it possible to deceive a boy or girl for any length of time with scant mention of a supposedly dead or deserting father? Justice to the child requires that his demand for knowledge of his parentage be met with information that will satisfy him.

Increasing interest in the men involved in cases of illegitimate births is characteristic of organizations caring for unmarried mothers and their children in accordance with modern standards. In many cases it is probable that the father's family did not know of the existence of the child. It is quite conceivable that this is the situation with regard to many children born out of wedlock. In only 12 cases was it stated definitely that there was any contact between the child and the father's family. In 6 of these cases the contact was due to relationship between the mother and the father, the father of the child being the mother's own father, brother, brother-in-law, or other family connection.

Only 18 children were reported as being aware of their illegitimate birth (doubtless the information of the social agency was incomplete on this point in many cases). The reactions of these children to the knowledge of the circumstances of their birth differed. On 9 the knowledge did not appear to have a harmful effect. On 3 the effect was bad at first, but their feeling later changed, and they adopted a normal attitude toward life with an affectionate relation to those with whom they were living. One girl appeared to be indifferent at first but later became immoral, possibly as a result of emotional stress caused by learning of her illegitimate birth; on 2 other children also the effect was bad. Three histories did not show the effect of this knowledge on the child.

Most of these children learned of their illegitimate birth when they were between 12 and 15 years of age, and in some cases this information came later. Those who learned the facts about their birth during the earlier years seemed to be affected less by the revelation than those to whom the knowledge came later.

SOURCES OF SUPPORT OF CHILDREN

ASSISTANCE BY AGENCIES

The records show that comparatively few of the mothers were able to support their children unaided. Various types of assistance were given by the organizations in addition to maternity care. Arrangements were made for the care of children in institutions either with or without their mothers; some of these children remained in the institutions for extended periods at little or no expense to the mothers. Boarding homes were provided in which the children were cared for at the expense of the agency or at such rates as the mothers were able to pay. Agencies frequently helped mothers to obtain employment, especially in domestic service, with families where they kept

their babies with them. Assistance was given in getting help from relatives or from the fathers of the children. In many cases the marriage of the mother helped to solve the problem of the child's support. Although about two-thirds of the mothers married and the husbands of most of them assumed responsibility for the child, very few of the marriages occurred during the child's infancy. Then, too, some of the children whose mothers married did not go to the home of the mother and stepfather immediately, and a few never did.

SUPPORT BY FATHERS

Although the importance of requiring the father to contribute to the support of his child born out of wedlock is generally recognized, in many cases no effort was made by the agencies to obtain this type of assistance. Reference has been made to the fact that some of the agencies cooperating in this study failed to assume any responsibility in connection with obtaining support from the fathers. Only 86 men—the fathers of 90 of the 253 children—were ordered to contribute to the support of their children or assumed voluntarily the obligation to do so.

Responsibility was fixed on 33 of these fathers through court action, 30 of them agreed voluntarily to contribute to the child's support, and 23 married the mothers.

Many of the histories indicated that the men had little sense of responsibility in connection with their payments. Those who entered into voluntary agreements met their obligations more regularly than those who had been placed under court order; some of these men did this in order to avoid publicity or to protect their reputations. Only 19 of the 63 fathers who were ordered to pay or who agreed to pay without marrying the mothers met their obligations satisfactorily or fairly well; 44 did not. Thirteen of these 44 fathers made cash settlements at one time, 1 of whom paid confinement expenses only. Fifteen made periodical payments for a short time or irregularly. Twelve failed to pay anything; 5 of these were unable to pay because of imprisonment, 1 was imprisoned because of his failure to pay. No information was obtained as to whether the other 4 met their obligations.

The amount that the court ordered the men to pay depended somewhat on their circumstances, consideration being given to the obligations of married men to their families. The amounts ordered and the period of time for which the orders were effective varied in accordance with the statutory provisions in the different States. The amounts ranged from $2.50 a month to $4 a week, but few of the orders provided for a sum approaching the maximum. For the majority of the fathers the orders ranged from $1 to $2 a week, or the equivalent in monthly payments. In one case a cash settlement of $125 was made. There were two cases—both reported by the same agency—in which $2.50 a month was ordered, the small amount being due to a statutory provision that fixed the sum in such cases. However, the law in the State concerned was changed some years ago. Of the 27 fathers for whom the amount ordered by the court was reported all but 4 were ordered to pay weekly or monthly. In one court case the order of $1.25 a week was faithfully paid to the end of the time set, 16 years.

In a large majority of the 30 cases in which the father assumed some responsibility for the support of the child without court order his action was brought about through an appeal by the girl and her family or by a social case worker. It seems clear that in a few instances such an appeal was not made, the men voluntarily assuming responsibility, presumably from a motive of self-protection.

Most of the men who entered into private agreements adjusted the matter by paying a stated sum, varying from $50 to $500. Only five settlements of more than $200 were reported—three of $300 and two of $500. The largest amount reported in any continuing arrangement was $25 a month. The original agreement had been for $3 a week, which was increased several times; regular payments had been made for more than 10 years. In one case of a private agreement the man paid the stipulated amount, $8 a month, regularly for 12 years, the period of time provided by law in this State. In another agreement the man paid the amount, $10 a month, with regularity until his death, five years after he entered into the agreement. An 18-year-old boy who entered into a private agreement for $4 a month kept faithfully to its terms for the 12 years stipulated.

A cash settlement was obtained in one case in which the mother had "two or three" older children by different fathers; and in two cases, in which the mother had an older child, the father of the second child married the mother, one of these fathers receiving the older child into the home with his own child. One man who had volunteered to make monthly payments continued his payments regularly, even after the mother had a second child by another man.

Not all the histories in which settlements were recorded stated that a definite plan for controlling expenditures had been made. It seems essential that when settlements are accepted there should be some arrangement by which the money is safeguarded for the child, with supervision of expenditures or a stated allowance drawn by the mother at regular intervals.

Although privacy in making arrangements for support is highly desirable, protection of the child's rights is equally important. An official record of the transaction should always be made. In addition to the financial consideration, agreements for support should contain admission of paternity. The social significance of this provision is in itself important to all persons concerned—the child, his mother, and his father.

OUTLOOK FOR CHILDREN

At the time of the last information 42 of the 253 children were 18 years of age or over; most of these were self-supporting, married, or living in their parental homes. It was evident in the histories that these young people were capable of supporting themselves and required no more supervision or assistance than any other young people of the same ages. For 121 of the 211 children under 18 the future promised at least a fundamental education; and for a considerable proportion of them further advantages were expected, including training to equip them for suitable employment. It was

stated in some of the histories that the child was to have training for a profession. The outlook for the future of 21 children was uncertain. For only 23 children were the prospects sufficiently unfavorable to warrant the expectation that the child would not be equipped for self-support and that he might possibly become dependent upon the public. Mental defect of the child or of his mother was responsible for the unfavorable outlook for a few children. It was found necessary to remove some children from their relatives because they were not properly cared for, and the future of others was being jeopardized by their false positions in homes in which they were living.

It was not possible to hazard a forecast of the future for 46 children, either because their histories did not give sufficient information about the relatives to make it possible to judge whether they might be relied upon to protect the child or because the status of the child was such as to indicate the probability of some change before long.

CASE STORIES

The following case stories are presented not necessarily as examples of excellent work by social agencies but merely as examples of what has been done by certain agencies in dealing with unmarried mothers and their children. It will be noted in the plan for preparing this material (p. 103) that the aim was not merely to collect cases in which the results had been successful but to give a cross-section of the case work done by the agencies cooperating in the study. In the main the 253 stories show good case work by the agencies and a successful outcome for the child. In preparing these stories names have been changed, and any other points that might lead to identification of the children or their parents have been omitted.

CHILDREN WHOSE MOTHERS MARRIED

The marriage of the mother either to the child's father or to some other man was the most important influence in the lives of many children. One hundred and forty-three of the two hundred and forty-one mothers were married after the birth of the child. These marriages even in cases where normal family life did not persist gave the mother the benefit of the status of a married woman and assured the child's acceptance as a member of a family group. Almost invariably if children were born of the marriage the child of illegitimate birth appeared to share equally with his half brothers and sisters in the father's affection and in the opportunities provided for the children in the home.

Seventy-two of the one hundred and forty-three mothers who married did so before the children were 5 years of age. As a rule these marriages resulted more happily for the children than those contracted later. A child who is not old enough to question why he does not live with his mother, nor why his father is absent, nor why he has no relatives becomes adjusted into a step-parental home without any of the bad results in after years that are the lot of an older child who has lived in a foster home for several years and who is

compelled to modify all of his family relationships after the marriage of his mother.

Of the 143 who married, 13 married more than once; 1 married four times. Twenty-three of the mothers married the fathers of their children. Four of these mothers were married twice, three marrying another man after divorcing the father of the child and one marrying the father after the death of her first husband. In addition to these 4 mothers who married another man as well as the father, 120 mothers married other men, 9 marrying more than once.

Marriages between the mother and the father of the child were not usually so successful as marriages between the mother and another man. Through remarriage after divorce or after the death of the husband these 143 mothers contracted 158 marriages—23 marriages with the fathers of the children and 135 marriages with other men. Out of 23 marriages of parents, 4 were broken off by divorce and 1 by separation; and in one case a divorce was pending at the time of the study. Out of 135 marriages of the mothers with other men, 7 divorces and 8 [2] separations were reported, the situation in one family not being reported. The proportion of marriages broken through divorce, separation, and desertion was not large for the group as a whole.

In addition to the families broken up by divorce or separation, a number of families were broken up by the death of the father or mother. At the last information 16 parental homes and 103 step-parental homes were still being maintained. There were, however, 28 children of illegitimate birth in these families who for some cause were living elsewhere. In some cases this was due to some difficulty of the child with his parents or step-parent; in others to physical or mental handicap of the child; in a few to successful adjustment previously in a foster home. In addition to these were several older children who were married and maintaining their own homes or who were working and boarding away from home.

CHILDREN WHOSE MOTHERS MARRIED THE FATHERS

Legitimation of children born out of wedlock by subsequent intermarriage of their parents with acknowledgment of the child by the father has been provided for in all the States of the United States.[3] The marriage of parents does not always prove a satisfactory solution of the problem of providing care for the child of illegitimate birth. Seven of the 23 mothers (representing 28 children) married after court action had been started to establish paternity or under pressure of a public department charged with the care of the child. Four of these seven marriages were characterized as successful; the other three as unsuccessful, the mothers later divorcing the fathers. Thirteen of the 16 marriages contracted voluntarily were successful. The father's attitude toward the child was favorable in all but four marriages. In two of these the parents never lived together after marriage, and in another there had always been much family fric-

[2] Including two separations because of bigamous marriages.

[3] Illegitimacy Laws of the United States and Certain Foreign Countries, by Ernst Freund. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 42. Washington, 1919.

tion. The last case was a very unusual situation. The parents did not marry until the child was several years old, and they never acknowledged her as their own child. In several cases, of which the story of James is given as an example, the father's attitude toward the child was kindly, but the mother was too unstable to assume entire care, and the child was provided for in other types of home.

Of the 28 children whose parents intermarried the histories of 6 are given:

Sophie.—Sophie's mother, Belinda, had been deaf and mute since early childhood. During her pregnancy her parents asked the agency for assistance in making some plan by which the girl and her coming baby might be cared for away from home until they could decide what to do. They hoped that some plan might be made whereby mother and child could be kept together later.

It would have meant untold sacrifice for the family to bring the unmarried mother and her child into the neighborhood, where they were much respected. They had lived in the same house for many years, and Belinda's mother had been born there. At the same time the parents' love for their child never wavered, and mother and daughter wept together over the misfortune. The girl's character can be described best by quoting her mother, who said, "She was the joy and happiness of our lives." Her education had been received at the State institution for the deaf, where she had been taught "lip speech." It was difficult to understand her, though she was intelligent and quick to grasp the conversation of others. Her love for the father of her coming child governed her love for the child—she had no thought of separation.

The father of the child, a deaf-mute from birth, had worked at the same place as the mother and had become acquainted with her there. He had visited her home and had been welcomed by her parents, and he had said they would be married. He was born in another State, where his relatives still lived. He was well educated but had not learned lip speech. He left the city after he was told of Belinda's pregnancy.

A position as wet-nurse was found for Belinda in the hospital where her baby, Sophie, was born. In the meantime pressure was brought to bear on the prosecuting attorney's office to bring the man back to the city, and this action was taken finally. When the detectives arrived in the city with their charge he was willing to marry the girl, whom he said he had always loved. He wrote a letter to Belinda, telling her that he was eager to right the wrong. Belinda went home to her parents at once, and the young couple were married the next day.

The family are now in their own home. The husband has an excellent position as a machinist. The marriage is happy, and three other children have been born. Sophie is now 8 years old. She is normal in speech and hearing, and so are the other three children. The outlook for her future is promising.

The agency had formal contact less than one year, but a friendly relation has continued between the mother and a former worker.

James.—When this case was referred to the agency Etta was a girl of 16 with a baby boy, James, of 9 months. After leaving the

maternity home where the baby was born Etta had had two domestic positions in succession, in both of which she had worked for her board only. In each of these homes she had kept the baby with her, the baby's board being paid by Etta's mother, Mrs. W. Mrs. W. was sympathetic and willing to do all in her power to help her daughter. Her husband, however, was unsympathetic. Mrs. W.'s sister and a cousin were willing to help but could do little financially. Etta's plan was to board her baby, to whom she was devoted, and to learn a trade, as she disliked housework and as persons interested in her felt that she was too bright and intelligent a girl to make it her life work.

Etta herself was of illegitimate birth, and she passed, even at the time of her application to the agency, as her mother's younger sister. Her mother had been married when Etta was 11 years old. At about that time Etta's grandfather (her supposed father), fearing that she might hear the story from an outside source, told her that he was really her grandfather and that her supposed sister was her mother. After this she never felt that she belonged to the family. Later her grandfather's home was broken up, and she went to live with her mother. She felt that her stepfather, who knew about her birth, disliked her; and she did not respect her mother, who she felt should have acknowledged her. She continued to pass as her mother's sister.

Etta had been a bright, attractive child, rather spoiled. She made a good record in the elementary school, and she entered high school at the age of 13. During her second year in high school Etta had become pregnant by a boy who was an older pupil in the same school and who came frequently to her home. Mrs. W. was often away at clubs and lectures and gave her daughter much less protection than a "boy-crazy" girl with a bad inheritance needed. Etta had decided before her baby was born to keep it and acknowledge it, as she felt that so many of her own troubles were due to her mother's attitude toward her.

The father of the child was the son of a prosperous saloon keeper. His father was dead, and he and his brothers and sisters lived with their widowed mother. At 19 he was in the third year of high school and was more prominent in football than in scholarship.

The young man acknowledged that he was the father of the child; but before court proceedings could be taken he disappeared, aided by his own family who for financial and religious reasons objected to his marrying Etta. When he married her three years later he had never seen his child nor contributed to his support.

Shortly after the case was referred the agency assumed guardianship of both Etta and her child James and placed them together in a foster home, Etta to do housework for both her own and the baby's board. Even then, however, she was interested in every man and boy she met and had sex relations with them when there was an opportunity. She was separated for a time from the child, as she was obliged to have two surgical operations. After this she studied dressmaking, at which she was very successful. While she was learning dressmaking and working at it her baby was boarded in the country with a Mrs. A. and Miss A., where Etta had been before with James.

A young man having a family history of epilepsy and feeble-mindedness became interested in her, and even after his most undesirable physical inheritance had been explained to Etta it was with difficulty that she was dissuaded from marrying him. When James was 3, Etta went to a neighboring city and there renewed her intimacy with his father. In a few weeks they were married, he being 23 and she 18 at the time. About this time a mental examination by a psychiatrist showed her to be of normal intelligence.

Little was heard from them until about a year after the marriage, when they returned to the vicinity of their home city. The husband worked steadily, earning good wages, and the couple lived in furnished rooms. The agency continued to keep James until his parents should establish a suitable home for him. The parents desired to have him, and he was permitted to spend a holiday with them occasionally. The father reimbursed the agency for the support of his child. The couple continued to live together apparently amicably for about three years, when Etta was brought into court on a charge of adultery. She was put on six months' probation. At the end of the hearing she announced that she was suing her husband for divorce on the ground of cruel and abusive treatment. He immediately filed a cross bill for divorce on the ground of adultery. He began to take more interest in the child, went to see him, and asked whether there was anything that he could do for him. Six months later a divorce was granted to the husband on the ground of desertion, the question of the guardianship of the child being left open. James remained meanwhile in his foster home with the A.'s. After some months the paternal grandmother petitioned for the guardianship and was awarded it.

James has always been healthy, with an unusually good physical and mental development. When he was 6 he was given a mental examination, and the examiner found that he was a child of superior intelligence, with an intelligence quotient of 121. Some of his exceptional development is doubtless due to the type of foster home in which he spent his early years. Miss A. had been trained in kindergarten and Montessori methods, and she taught the little boy at home until he was 7, when he entered the third grade in a public school.

At present James is living in his paternal grandmother's home and seems perfectly happy in his new environment. Etta's mother and Miss A. both visit him. His father does not live with him much of the time, but from the child's report is again living with Etta, who has a furnished room and is working. The little boy sees both his father and his mother frequently. He does not know that his mother's marriage was subsequent to his birth; and all his relations with his father and mother, as well as with his grandparents, have been that of a legitimate child, as are also his social relations outside the family. He will be given a good education and will be fitted for business or professional life.

Etta, as she was legally married to her child's father, has a protected status. She is very fond of her child and would not give him up but is too unstable ever to assume the entire care and responsibility of rearing a child.

The agency has had continuous contact with the case for eight years.

Sidney and Lillian.—Two children, Sidney and Lillian, of the same father and mother are considered in this study. The mother,

Laura, 18 years old, applied to the agency during the early months of the life of the first child, Sidney, for help in finding a home where she might live with him and work in a factory, as she had done before the child was born.

Laura had little education but considerable intelligence and ability. She was living in a boarding house. Her father and a married sister were living in the same city. She saw them occasionally, but apparently there was no close bond between them. Her mother had died when Laura was a small child, and the family had been held together for a few years by the father and then had disintegrated. Laura had begun work at 15.

Charles, the father of the baby, made his home with his parents, respectable working people. He was a machinist and earned good money. So far as could be learned he was the only man with whom Laura had had much association, and it seems certain that she had not had sexual relations with any one except him. For several years he had been paying her attention, and they expected to marry. In a quarrel they had separated. After several months he had come to her and told her that he was responsible for the pregnancy of another girl but that he loved Laura and still wished to marry her. Laura refused his advances and insisted that he marry the other girl for whose coming child he was responsible. He did so. The child did not come to term, and the couple did not live together.

There was no attempt on the part of either Laura or Charles to conceal the fact they were very much in love with each other. In a signed contract in which he acknowledged paternity he readily agreed to support the baby and to make the payments through the agency.

Laura and the child, Sidney, were placed in a boarding home, and Laura resumed her employment as a factory operative, at which she made excellent wages. Though all possible persuasion was used by the agency to induce her to break off the association with Charles, and though he, too, was urged to see the injustice to Laura and to his wife, they continued to meet. Charles was devoted to the baby, and he visited the boarding home, but he promised the agency worker that he would go there only in the mother's absence.

When the baby, Sidney, was nearly 2 years old Laura disappeared. The boarding mother insisted on keeping Sidney without compensation, saying that she had often promised his parents that he would always have a home with her. Naturally it was supposed that she was in the confidence of the parents and that they visited the child. After several months Laura called at the agency office, looking far from well. She evaded all queries as to where she was living. Several weeks later the agency worker, in dealing with another case, found her by accident in a miserable attic room, with a second baby, Lillian. She had been living with Charles, who was drinking heavily and working irregularly. Laura was supplementing their income by doing part-time domestic work. The baby was being nursed and was in excellent condition.

Laura was induced to leave this home and to stay for a while in another of the agency's boarding homes with the baby. When the baby no longer required nursing Laura returned to the boarding home and resumed factory work. She then went into domestic service, keeping the baby with her. Charles had agreed willingly to

support the second child by payments made through the agency, as with the first child. He was very careless about his payments for the children, and the mother seemed to be changing her attitude toward him.

Laura was a faithful mother. She would sew and do laundry work until late at night after working all day, and she kept both children well and attractively clothed. Sidney continued to live with the boarding mother who had kept him from the first; but under no circumstances would Laura relinquish her claim to him, and she visited him often. Her father and sister she seldom saw, and they would not do anything for her unless she would give up the children.

Even though Sidney received free care from the first boarding mother and though some little assistance was given by the agency, the burden became too great for the mother, and she decided to make their father responsible for their support, through court order. Lillian was then nearly 2 years old and Sidney 4. Charles was indicted and was ordered to pay $3 a week for each of the two children.

About a year after this Laura met an older woman of very bad reputation, who introduced her to men of means and education—contacts that she had not had hitherto. She went out repeatedly on parties with this woman and her friends and when Lillian was 3 years old gave birth to a third child. This matter came to the attention of the agency through the attorney for the father of the third baby, whom the mother had had arrested. After a preliminary hearing this man paid the mother $600, though he was unwilling to admit that he was the father of the child; he had borne other expenses amounting to nearly $200. The man's attorney had sought the services of the agency partly as a protection for his client and partly to insure that the money paid would be used for the child.

The third child was placed in the boarding home with the mother and Lillian. No one associated with the mother ever suggested removing any of her children from her care.

All this time Laura had been living in the agency's boarding home. The boarding mother had not given the agency any hint of Laura's conduct, of her long absences from home—late at night and all day on Sundays. This kind of conduct was new to her, as her life had been entirely centered in her children. It was learned that the man responsible for the third baby had frequently entertained her, with the older woman and another man, in his parents' home while the family were out of town for the summer.

Throughout these experiences the mother was extremely ashamed of her conduct and apparently was grateful for the assistance of the agency. The father of her third child had given her money for an abortion, which she refused to have performed, saying that it was a sin to take the life of an unborn child. She had kept the money and used it for the new baby.

About a year after the court settlement regarding the third child the entire case was transferred (except for a friendly interest on the part of the agency's workers) to a court worker who handled the money paid by Charles, the father of the first two children. This worker was particularly interested in the mother and had assisted her in many ways, and she now asked to be permitted to take full responsibility for the case.

The first agency had no further information until recently, when inquiry revealed that the mother had lived with another man five years ago and had given birth to twins. She had been seen by a psychiatrist, who said that no formal mental examination was necessary, as he believed her to be of normal mentality. She brought the twins to live in the boarding home with Lillian and the third child. All this time Charles had paid, fairly regularly, for the support of Sidney and Lillian. The mother had drawn a fixed amount monthly from the money belonging to the third child, and she and four of her children continued to live in the boarding home, the third home she had lived in. The boarding mother was of excellent character; her home was comfortable, though none too well kept. She was extremely kind, and she made a great effort to give the mother and her children a real home. She was impressed by Laura's devotion to her children and by the readiness with which she would make any personal sacrifice for them. Sidney had remained with the first boarding mother, according to the plan made years before.

Five years ago the wife of Charles, the father of the first two children, died; and two years later he married Laura. They left Sidney in his foster home. The other four children are with Laura in her husband's home. The family appears to be happy. Charles supports the household, and the children are well cared for by their mother. The court worker is in close touch with the family and visits them, as a real friendship has been maintained between her and the mother, who is friendly with the original agency worker also, sending her messages from time to time. The three older children have made normal progress in school; the twins are too young to go to school.

The final report from the court worker says, "The mother is still very attractive. She dresses conservatively and keeps her children well dressed. The children apparently know nothing of their mother's [former] promiscuous life and are very happy in their home."

The agency kept in contact with the case for five years continuously; then it was transferred to the court worker, who has maintained contact to the present time.

Alexander.—Alexander was born within 24 hours after his mother, Constance, had entered a private maternity home, expecting to be confined a month later. She gave the maternity-home worker a wrong name and other misinformation about herself, wishing to conceal her identity, as she felt disgraced by her illegitimate pregnancy. She said that she had no near relatives living, but it was found later that she had several, including two sisters who had stood by her when they learned of her trouble.

Constance was 20 years old. After finishing high school she had taken a two-year course at the nurses' training school of a large hospital in the city where she had always lived, and after graduation she was employed in this hospital. About a year before her graduation her parents had died within a few weeks of each other. Her father had been a laborer employed by the city.

The father of the child was a medical student, 25 years old, who was serving as interne at the hospital where Constance was employed. She was in love with him, but he cared nothing for her.

Constance intended to keep the baby with her, and the agency, whose policy it was to favor keeping mother and child together whenever possible, assisted her in doing this.

A month after her confinement Constance took the baby, Alexander, to the home of a friend who knew her circumstances. Meanwhile the agency was exerting its influence to bring about a marriage between Constance and the father of her child, and when the child was 2 months old the marriage took place. The man had consented to the marriage to legitimatize the child only on condition that he would not be expected to live with the mother. From time to time he contributed small sums of money toward the child's support, but he showed no other interest in him or the mother.

Soon after the marriage Constance found employment as a nurse and went to live with her sister, placing Alexander in a boarding home. Two years later she obtained a divorce, which was not contested.

For six years these arrangements continued. During these six years Constance constantly regretted that she could not have her boy with her. She wrote, "It just kills me to go and see little Alexander. I know he is getting the best of care and is happy, but he is getting away from me. Very soon I will mean no more to him than a stranger." She finally took him to live with her and her sister; and the boarding mother, who loved the boy as though he were her own son, was broken-hearted.

About this time Alexander became curious about his father and asked many questions about him. Later he wrote letters to the father, with the mother's encouragement, but never received an answer.

When Alexander was 8 years old Constance married again. Her husband accepted the child, and the family of three moved to another section of the country. It is not known whether the stepfather adopted the child. Constance has always loved her boy, and now that her life is happier she is glad that she was able to keep him with her. She supported herself and him throughout the eight years before her second marriage.

The agency had about six years' continuous contact with the case, and one of its ex-workers had informal contact for two years longer.

Benjamin.—Carrie, a foreign-born girl of 23, the mother of Benjamin, was the daughter of a couple who were in fairly comfortable circumstances. They owned a grocery store and were well known in the community. The girl was devoted to her parents, and she could not bear to tell them of her pregnancy, so she applied for shelter to a maternity home. In her native country Carrie had received an elementary-school education. She was a good-natured girl, healthy and intelligent, and she had a refined manner. She worked at the millinery trade and was competent at it, and she also helped her parents in the grocery store.

The father of the child had been a schoolmate of Carrie's in their native country, and a year after she came to the United States he followed her here and went to live in her parents' home. At that time the man was not yet in a position to marry, as he was still an apprentice at his trade, millinery, but the young couple were considered engaged by their friends and by the girl's parents. Though

Carrie had been very much in love with this man when they were in Europe, she began to grow cold toward him after they came to this country.

A worker at the maternity home told Carrie's parents that she was being cared for at the home, and they went to see her and took a kindly attitude toward her. Carrie had planned to keep the baby but not to marry the man. However, her parents were anxious that she should be reinstated in the community, and accordingly she consented to marry the man. The marriage took place when the baby, Benjamin, was 5 months old.

Carrie and her husband and baby went to live with Carrie's parents, as the husband was not earning enough money to enable them to start a home of their own. They remained there several years, but they were not happy together. The older couple were kind to them, but Carrie did not love her husband; and although he loved her he was quarrelsome.

During these years they had saved enough money to buy a grocery store of their own, and they left the child's grandparents and set up housekeeping. Carrie helped her husband in the store. Working together seemed to accentuate the incompatibility of the couple, and they quarreled a good deal.

After about seven years of married life Carrie and her husband separated, and she and Benjamin went back to live with her parents, who are devoted to them. This arrangement has continued for about two and one-half years. Carrie is doing well financially as agent for a sewing-machine company, and she is highly respected in her community.

The husband, who had gone to live in another city when the home was broken up, has returned to the city where Carrie lives. He is still fond of her, but she is against a reconciliation, for she believes that it is impossible for them to live harmoniously. The fact that she has such a good home with her parents undoubtedly contributes to her attitude.

The father sees Benjamin occasionally. The boy is now 10 years old and is in the second half of the fourth grade at school. He attends religious-instruction classes after day-school hours and also takes violin lessons. Carrie and her parents are devoted to Benjamin and plan to give him a college education.

The agency had contact for 10 years intermittently.

CHILDREN WHOSE MOTHERS MARRIED OTHER MEN

One hundred and twenty-three mothers, representing 128 children, married men other than the fathers of their children, and 3 of these mothers married both the fathers and other men. On the whole the majority of these marriages might be characterized as successful. Only three of the histories definitely stated that the stepfather of the child knew nothing about the child's parentage. The basic understanding of the truth between the mother and the stepfather in most of the marriages was probably one of the reasons for the happy relationship of the stepfather and the child.

In only 20 of the 123 cases in which the mother had married a man other than the father of her child was the step-parental home not being maintained, and in a number of instances where the child was

not living in the home the relationship of the child and the stepfather was a happy one. A child who is not taken into the mother's home at the beginning of her married life or who for several years has lived in a relative's home or foster home rarely attains a strong feeling of family unity or security even though the stepfather may be kindly.

Although some of these children did not live in their mothers' homes continuously, and others were not satisfactorily adjusted in their stepfathers' homes, the majority of them were afforded the benefits of a family home and normal adjustment in the community by the marriage of the mothers.

Many of the stepfathers accepted the children into their homes, and some of them gave the children the added assurance of permanence in their family relationship by adopting them. Fourteen of the 128 children whose mothers married men other than the fathers of the children were legally adopted by their stepfathers. Three other stepfathers who had been married to the mothers of the children only a few years when the histories were written were planning, as was Dick's stepfather (p. 38), to adopt the children legally. When legal adoption occurred it was usually on the suggestion of the men themselves and for the protection of the children, although the story of George (p. 59) indicates that in this case at least there existed another less altruistic motive.

Effect of early and of late marriage of mothers.

The early adjustment of the child when the mother marries during the early years of the child's life is illustrated by the story of Emily. The case of Nina (p. 39) suggests some of the misgivings that a mother has who undertakes to bring into the step-parental home a child who has been left in a boarding home for many years.

Emily.—Emily's mother, Nathalie, 17 years old, had been referred to the agency during pregnancy by a maternity home. She was entirely without funds. Her immediate needs were met by the maternity home, where she was not required to pay any of her expenses. Her mother was able to give a little assistance by providing a few articles for the girl and some clothing for the coming baby. At that time the girl's plan was to give up her baby for adoption at birth or as soon thereafter as possible. Her mother approved of this plan.

Nathalie was one of a family of four children that had been separated in early childhood when their father divorced their mother, charging her with unfaithfulness. The court had given the father the custody of the one son and two of the daughters, leaving to the mother one daughter who was an imbecile and unable to walk. After several years the three children who were in the father's custody were taken from him on account of neglect and were placed in family homes, one of them, Nathalie, in the home of a married cousin, who was addicted to the use of drugs and whose grown son was feebleminded.

At an early age Nathalie had been employed in a cheap candy shop at low wages. She had spent very little time in school, but her father, a well-educated man, had taken her and her sister from place to place with him on his journeys as a civil engineer and he had taught them to some extent. Although Nathalie lacked formal edu-

cation, she had excellent command of English and had read considerably and she wrote a fair letter in good handwriting. She seemed unusually intelligent; no mental examination was made. After she had been placed in the cousin's home she had come into contact with her mother.

There was no information as to the father of the child. It seemed clear that the feeble-minded cousin was not the father, though Nathalie's mother thought he was.

Breast feeding was insisted on in the hospital where Emily was born and also in the maternity home where the mother and baby went for after-care. This probably influenced the girl to keep her child.

Considerable time was required to prepare Nathalie to take a position with her baby. She decided to go into a family home, at least while nursing the baby. A home in a large town was selected, the family consisting of a man and his wife. The wife wanted a companion and Nathalie's refinement and attractiveness made a strong appeal to her. The girl was happy in this household; but it became necessary for business reasons for the family to leave this location and they moved to the country. When they had been living in the new home a short time the worker from the agency visited Nathalie and her child. Both were in excellent physical condition and the relation between them and the family was all that could be desired. However, the loneliness of the situation, together with other features, decided the worker to suggest a change, which was soon made.

The mother and child returned to the city and were placed in a boarding home with a Mrs. Roe. The baby had been weaned by this time and so a new type of occupation was sought for the mother. A position as attendant in the reception room of a large corporation was obtained for Nathalie at a salary ample to provide for her and the baby. Her contacts at this place were desirable. With a little help, made possible by the manager of the business, Nathalie soon learned to fill the position creditably. She accepted responsibility well and her development was gratifying. Her true status was known to her employer and to the Roes. With all others Nathalie assumed the status of a widow.

After two years in this position, living a normal home life with the Roes and associating with her mother and her brother (he had been located by the agency after a separation of some years), Nathalie married the son of the boarding mother, Richard Roe, an unsettled youth earning a small salary. Emily was then nearly 3 years old.

Five children have been born of this marriage. The house has not been kept well, and the family has moved frequently. Nathalie has shown poor judgment in expending money for attractive but unnecessary furniture. Several times she has bought expensive articles on the installment plan, only to lose them after a considerable sum had been paid because she could not meet the payments. This same experience was undergone in the attempted purchase of a house. Nathalie's mother, who has married again, has been a steadying influence on the family, a source of strength and of financial help, though her means are limited. Assistance has been given also by the husband's mother. Relief has been given several times by a social agency. Emily has done well in school, though during her early

school years her attendance was much interrupted by unsettled conditions in the home.

In the light of the family history and of Nathalie's irresponsibility in some matters a mental examination seemed desirable, but it was not practicable.

After nine years the family moved into their present home, where they have lived for nearly three years. This has been their longest stay in one location, and this home gives promise of permanency. Conditions have greatly improved. Emily's stepfather receives a better salary than he had been receiving, and he has been entirely supporting the family. Emily has the same status and the same place in the affections of her stepfather and his relatives as the other children have. The children are all healthy and attractive. The atmosphere of the home is a happy one, with really affectionate family ties. Emily is athletic, and she and her stepfather are companionable, enjoying swimming and other sports together. The mother is gratified by this association because her household duties prevent her from going out with her husband as much as she would like to. His even disposition and real affection for his wife and for all the children have doubtless made possible the holding together of the home through its many crises.

Emily has not learned the truth about her birth. She believes that her stepfather is her father. (Nathalie never told the agency worker who the father was.) The sudden reunion of her mother with a brother and sister after years of separation (Nathalie's sister, on reaching her majority, promptly located her people), the knowledge that her maternal grandmother is divorced and remarried, and her mother's marriage constitute a combination of circumstances that might have disturbed the child. That it has not done so may be due to the affection she has had from so many persons. She has always had the influence of two well-established, secure homes, that of Nathalie's mother and that of the husband's mother, both of whom love the child. (It will be remembered that the husband was the son of a boarding mother with whom Nathalie and Emily had lived.) An influence of practical religion pervades the latter home, which has carried over to some extent to the son's home. Now well over 15 years of age, in high school, Emily seems happily adjusted. Nathalie believes that she will not ask further questions about her antecedents. Except for the possibility of having to leave school and go to work before completing high school the prospects for the future are good. Her position in her school and other relationships are assured.

Recently Emily wanted to go to work in order to have "silk stockings and a fur coat, like other girls." The mother was alarmed at the thought of applying for an employment permit because of the questions that would have to be answered as to the girl's parentage. The stepfather has insisted that she remain in school.

The mother has always been glad that she kept Emily.

The agency had continuous contact with the case for five years. From the time this contact ceased until the present a friendly visitor has been in close touch with the mother and child.

Dick.—Dick's mother, Mollie, a 19-year-old girl of foreign birth employed in a factory as forewoman of a department, was referred

during her pregnancy to the agency reporting the case, by a social worker connected with the factory. She had come to the United States when 3 years old and had attended the elementary school, completing the sixth grade.

The father of her coming child had planned that they would go to another city and be married. Mollie told her family of the plans, and her father gave her $75. The day they were to leave the man refused to go, saying that he would join her later. Her father took her to another city and placed her with a family he knew. The young man wrote to her, telling her to arrange for her confinement in a hospital and afterwards to place the child somewhere and return home. These plans were not carried out. She had now no plans for the future, but she did not consider giving up the baby. Her family was still friendly and sympathetic.

The father of the child was a youth of little intelligence, an unskilled mechanic. He had completed the fifth grade in the elementary school. He had been Mollie's childhood playmate and later her accepted lover, whom she expected to marry. He was an only child, and he lived with his parents. His character may be judged by his complete failure of the girl at this critical time. Later he was ordered by a court to pay $12 a month, after all attempts at private settlement had proved fruitless.

After the birth of the baby, Dick, Mollie and he lived with her parents, and the little fellow made a place for himself in the family. Mollie returned to her position in the factory and continued to live at home until Dick was 2 years old, when she married.

Mollie has been married six years. Dick is now in the second grade at school, and he is a healthy, normal child. It is unlikely that he will ever know of his illegitimate birth, as his stepfather intends to adopt him legally. This step was decided on when the child entered school and his birth certificate was called for. Getting this certificate brought out the truth about Dick's birth, and this disturbed his mother to such an extent that her husband decided on the adoption to avoid a repetition of this unhappy incident in the future, when an employment certificate may be required. The boy already goes by the stepfather's name.

It is interesting to note that the boy spends more time with the parents of his stepfather than with his maternal grandparents.

The father of Dick married another woman, who found it necessary to seek court assistance in obtaining support for herself and two children.

The agency had contact with the case for three years continuously, and five years of informal contact through a former worker.

Nina.—Nina, 2 years old at the time the case was referred to the agency, had been for about a year and a half in a boarding home in the suburbs, in the vicinity of a hospital where her mother, Helen, was in training to be a nurse. At this time Helen had just given up this training course on account of difficulty with her supervisor. She now needed help in finding work and in placing Nina in a boarding home in the city. Helen told the agency worker that the father of the child was a few years older than she, a close friend of one of her brothers. He and Helen had grown up together. They

were not engaged. She had seen the man only twice since she had left home and she had passed him on the street without speaking. This was in her home town, during two of her occasional visits there.

Helen was an attractive girl of 22 who, during her pregnancy, had come from a small town to the city to conceal her condition from her family. She had a good reputation in her home town, and she had intended to place the child in an institution or a family home and to return to her home and resume her place in the community, telling no one of the child. This plan had been defeated by the maternity home's policy of investigating resources among the child's relatives; one of the staff had written to Helen's parents telling of the baby's birth. The parents did not answer this letter, nor a second one, but they wrote to Helen, telling her to place the baby for adoption and to come home. They said they would not accept the child nor assist the mother in caring for her.

Helen did not go home (although later she visited her parents from time to time, concealing the existence of the child from her younger brothers and sisters). The maternity home had a policy of insisting on breast feeding, so Helen remained with the baby until she could wean her safely. She then entered upon the nurses' training course mentioned previously. While in training she incurred little expense, and by rigid economy she was able to pay the child's board and other expenses, but she had not been able to save any money. In her home town she had been a teacher; but as she had not had a complete teacher's training course she could not get a teaching position in the city. Now, when the little girl was 2 years old the mother frankly blamed the home and still wished that she had given up the baby. Her reason as given by herself was that it would have been better for Nina; but her attitude in certain ways indicated that she would prefer not to have the responsibility of providing for her. Nevertheless she was a faithful mother, and an affectionate relation existed between her and her daughter. As Helen's intention to keep her family from knowing about the baby had been frustrated she had no other reason for giving up the child. Besides, she said that she would not have done so after the child had come to know her, on account of the bad result this might have for Nina.

When the case was referred to the agency, the plan of boarding care for the child had been in effect for many months, and so the agency advised continuance of this plan and placed Nina in one of its boarding homes. Helen registered as an undergraduate nurse and took cases. She was successful in this work; and when she was employed her earnings were adequate to pay her expenses and those of her daughter, but her work was not continuous. She developed a condition that required hospital care. Two surgical operations were performed. After six years she was obliged to give up nursing. She then took a clerical position in a town near the home of her parents. She was unable to pay the child's board at this time, and the agency paid it.

Nina was a very attractive child, so bright as to be almost precocious, and she caused many problems for the boarding mothers.

The record of the boarding homes is no longer available; but it is known that the child was destructive at times, and that great difficulty was found in the selection of a suitable boarding mother. Under the guidance of a psychiatrist the troubles were corrected, and the child remained in her last boarding home for several years with satisfaction to the boarding mother and to the agency. She was happy here, but she always preferred to be with her mother rather than in the care of any other person (it was Helen's custom when she was not on a case to stay in the boarding home with the child). Nina had been told that her father had died when she was a baby. The boarding mothers had asked no questions. The child was accepted without question by other children in the neighborhood in which she lived and in school. Nina had no association with any friends of her mother's; Helen had no close friends in the city.

Nina was very nervous, and she contracted practically all the usual "children's diseases." These made her lose much time from school and retarded her progress. Her naturally keen mind enabled her to retrieve some of her loss. Her mother at one time had plans for placing her in a superior school—an endowed institution—but the child was barred by her illegitimate birth, though the president of the board of trustees was interested in obtaining her admission.

When Nina was 9 years old (she was still living in a boarding home) her mother married a steady, refined man, a skilled mechanic, about two years younger than Helen. He had been told all about Nina, and he was quite willing to accept her as his child; so a year after the marriage, soon after the birth of a baby, Nina was taken to Helen's new home by the agency worker who had known Helen and Nina since they were first referred to the agency. The child was overjoyed that she could now live with her mother. She had been much hurt by her mother's failure to visit her for two years. To the boarding mother she had confided her belief that her mother no longer wanted her, since she had a husband to love. The new home was a comfortable, attractive house in a mountain town. Nina was received with affection by her stepfather. Helen had told her husband's relatives that Nina's mother was a cousin who had died at the time of the child's birth, and that her father had died a little later; that she, because of her devotion to this cousin, had looked after the child, using the money that the father had left for the purpose. Helen expressed to the worker her misgivings about having Nina with her, as she feared that suspicion would arise and cause the child suffering.

The last information available was in letters from the little girl and her mother to the worker, written during the second year of the child's residence in the new home. Helen's letters gave no reason to suppose that trouble had arisen for the child; they were simply friendly letters. Those from Nina told of her happiness in her home and interest in her school work and described her interests and pleasures. It had been her mother's intention to place the child in a boarding school as soon as she had the money to do so. She felt that the opportunity for the child would be more favorable there than in the local public school; that is, there would be less probability that the child's history would be suspected. This had not been done, however, up to the receipt of the last letter. A note of thanks from

the child for a remembrance at the time of her second Christmas with her mother was the last contact. Helen had ceased to write before this. When two personal notes were unanswered the worker dropped the correspondence, in the belief that the mother thought it better to end contact with the agency. It had been made clear to Helen when she took the child to her home that both the worker and the agency would always be ready to assist in plans for the child if the need should ever arise.

The outlook for the child seems fairly favorable, though her mother's flimsy story about her parentage may not be effective in protecting them. One favorable point is the location of their home. Although it is not far from the town in which Helen's parents live it is in a location difficult of access. None of the husband's people live there. The little girl herself must at some time have questioned her status. The child has a reticent nature, and it is probable that she would conceal as long as possible any fears or doubts she might have. It is highly improbable that so bright a child could fail to be affected by the story of her relationship to her mother as given by the mother to relatives and others, when she knew herself to be the true child of her mother.

The agency has had contact for nine years.

Adjustment of children of unstable mothers.

The favorable outcome of the mother's retaining the custody of her child may be attributed in some instances to the kindly attitude of an intelligent stepfather rather than to a mutual working out of family problems by the mother and the stepfather.

Most of the mothers who failed to cooperate were either emotionally unstable or of limited mental ability. Several of these mothers had more than one illegitimate child by different fathers. The stabilizing effect of the mother's affection for her children, as well as the special consideration shown the children by their stepfathers, is brought out in the stories on pages 42 to 48.

The story of Catherine illustrates the successful development of a dependent mother whose greatest asset was deep affection for her children. First, under the intelligent guidance of an agency, and later under the stimulation of a happy marriage she successfully maintained a home in spite of her limited intelligence.

Emotional instability of the mother rather than low mentality was the problem in the case of Louis (p. 44). This story not only shows the successful development of a satisfactory step-parental home for the younger child but also illustrates the sort of case in which the child remains in a foster home even after the mother establishes a satisfactory home of her own.

The mother of Rita (p. 46) was emotionally unstable; she deserted her husband and child several times. During the mother's absence the child was left to the care of her stepfather, who had adopted her when she was 5 years old.

Catherine.—A maternity home had suggested that Catherine, 10 years old, and two younger half sisters, all three of illegitimate birth, be taken from their mother, Martha, an unmarried woman of 30 (another child, also of illegitimate birth, had been adopted by a family). Although Martha was making a struggle to take care

of her children she was not able to provide them with food and clothing, as her earning ability was small and she had no help. The last man with whom she had lived had deserted her. Her family were antagonistic. Her church had dropped her from membership, and her friends had ostracized her. Martha was embittered by her position but was determined to keep her children with her and showed marked devotion to them.

Catherine's father was a brass molder. Martha had left her home to live with him in the home of his people, who believed them married. They lived thus for a year and a half. Six months after Catherine's birth he deserted and has never been heard from since. Martha stated that he was alcoholic, indolent, domineering, and abusive, and that she believed that he was sexually promiscuous while she lived with him.

Martha had attended a public school, going as far as the fourth grade and leaving school, at the age of 14, to work, first in a factory and later as a servant. According to her own statement she was first misled through an unfortunate friendship with a woman of questionable character. Her four children had different fathers. She lived with one man at a time, keeping the children with her, hoping always to marry and have a permanent home. Examination by a psychopathic clinic showed her to be of low intelligence. The diagnosis was "subnormal, emotional type, psychopathic personality." The examiner found her nervous, easily upset, apprehensive, and quick to take offense but was able to gain her confidence and cooperation.

Until Catherine was 10 years old her mother had managed somehow to get along without help. But when the fourth child was born and the three children then with her showed the effects of lack of care, the hospital where Martha was confined referred the case to the juvenile court with the recommendation that the children be taken from her.

The psychopathic clinic recommended that for a trial period Martha be given a "mother's allowance" from the county fund and that she be established in a separate home and entrusted with the care of the two youngest children, Catherine to be boarded with a cousin until it was apparent whether the mother would be successful. The allowance was granted, and the mother was supervised by the clinic. She did no work outside her own home. She responded promptly and well to supervision. Her record shows a notation as follows:

> After one year's supervision the adjustment has been complete. There has been no repetition of any of the former troubles. She keeps her home clean and takes good care of the children. Has been thoroughly cooperative with the doctors, nurses, and clinics as well as the supervisor. She apparently is contented at home with her family; and now that the oldest child has also been given to her, she has no complaints and is perfectly happy. She is most appreciative of what has been done for her; the children show good care. The family feeling here is very strong. The friends and family have again accepted the patient and she was recently readmitted to her own church.

During the short period that she lived with her cousin, Catherine was reported to be doing well in school; her attendance was regular and her class work satisfactory. Her health was good. All this time, although she had a good home, she was anxious to return to her mother.

When Catherine was 12 the mother married a widower with one child (he was not the father of any of her children). Marriage has completed her reinstatement in her social world. Her husband is a man of property, of good earning ability, and of good standing. He seems as devoted to her children as to his own child. Martha is finding a serious problem in controlling his child, who is troublesome, but she is standing up to her difficulty well, determined to make a success of this problem as well as her own.

Catherine seems not to know of her illegitimate birth. She is devoted to her stepfather and to her mother. She seems to get on well in her present situation, and, of course, will continue living in her mother's household.

The paternity of Catherine was never established.

The agency had contact one year and a half; then the case was closed.

Louis.—Nellie, herself of illegitimate birth, was 23 when she applied to the agency for a domestic position where she might keep her baby, Louis, 17 months of age. She used the title "Mrs.," and at this time the agency was not sure whether she was married or not. Her own mother also had been of illegitimate birth. Nellie was penniless, and her relatives would not help her in any way; they would have nothing to do with her. She had no plan except to earn a living for her child.

Little was known of the baby's father. He was a fireman, 33 years old, living with his mother.

Nellie had lived in an orphanage until she was almost grown, when she was taken by her mother's relatives, who offered her a business education. They found that she was inclined to be wild and that she would listen to no one, so her uncle-in-law forbade her the house, and she had had nothing to do with her relatives since then. She had been in domestic service before the birth of Louis.

Nellie was of frail appearance, but she had good health. She always resented being a servant and was never satisfied until, against the advice of the agency, she obtained a place as housekeeper in a home where she was one of the family. The household consisted of two unmarried men and their aged mother. Nellie and Louis were together in this household until the child was 4 years old, when the mother again became pregnant, this time by one of the men of the family. He gave her money and sent her to a near-by city, where she had an abortion performed. She then returned to his home. Later she showed signs of a severe emotional disturbance; and this man sent her to a psychiatrist, by whose arrangement she was placed in a mental hospital. Tests showed that she had a mental age of 15 years, and she was judged emotionally unstable. She left the boy in the home where she had been employed, as the family desired to keep him. He has remained with them ever since under supervision of the agency. As Nellie has had no contact with her relatives the boy has not known them.

The mother was in the mental hospital for about three months. While there she met a man of 25, who was being treated for drug addiction. After both were discharged from the hospital Nellie lived with this man as his wife in his mother's home. She became pregnant but did not allow the child to be born. After a while the

man's mother learned that Nellie was not married to her son; and she compelled the young woman, who was again pregnant, to leave the home. A second child, Jessica, was born soon after this; and Nellie obtained a domestic position where she could keep the child with her.

A year and a half after the birth of the second child Nellie married a man whom she had met while working as a housekeeper in the country. In this community she was known as a widow, but she told the man the truth about her two children, and he still wished to marry her. The husband has a trade and makes excellent wages. He has always been very devoted to Jessica, and she goes by his name; and as they are now living in a new community Jessica is thought to be the child of her stepfather. She is now 9 years old and is in the third grade. She did not begin school as soon as she should have because she was living in the country.

Nellie has always been industrious, honest, and scrupulously neat, and, according to her ability, she has always been a good mother. When asked why she kept her first child she answered that until he was born she had never known what love was like. It is not known whether Louis has ever been told of his illegitimate birth. He is still with the family that kept him when his mother went to the mental hospital, and he writes to his mother frequently. His mother has visited him at intervals, and he is under the supervision of a children's agency. He is in the seventh grade of the elementary school. The boy has a good home, and the mother believes that he will inherit from the two men of the household.

The father of the first child never supported him at all. The father of the second child signed an agreement to pay $12 a month toward her support for 12 years. His payments have lapsed frequently, and the agency has checked him up. After a lapse of two years the payments have been resumed, and the mother is now receiving $30 a month.

The agency has had continuous contact with the case for 14 years.

Elsie.—The case of Florence, Elsie's mother, was referred by a court when she was placed on probation after her mother had charged her with incorrigibility. Florence had been doing housework for a very poor type of family. When referred she was dependent upon friends. She was pregnant with her first child (not Elsie, the child whose history is given) but apparently was not aware of the fact at the time. She was 19 years old.

When Florence's mother, a widow, learned that her daughter was pregnant she felt that she could not keep her and the baby. The girl went to an institution for maternity care. The baby died when 2 months old.

Florence was very weak in character. She was inclined to be untruthful and willful, and at times she was subject to spells of stubbornness. When she was 18 she was given a psychological examination and was found to have a mental age of 9.6 years. Though not in ill health she was not robust.

After the death of the baby Florence held a position as a domestic. Later she worked in a factory and lived in the home of her sister. While living with her sister, who was not leading a moral life, Florence became illegitimately pregnant the second time. When

the second baby, Elsie, was about 4 months old she was removed from Florence's care by a child-protective society, on the advice of the agency, because of neglect. The baby had institutional care for a short time and was later boarded in foster homes.

Little is known of the father of Elsie. He was of foreign birth and was about 40 years old. He was a steward on a yacht and made a good salary. Some time after the birth of the child he was known to have served a prison term.

About one year after Elsie was removed from her mother's care, the mother married, and 18 months later Elsie was placed with her again. In the meantime Florence had given birth to the first child of her marriage. Since then she and her husband, with the two children, have lived together practically continuously, although not always without difficulty. The husband has at times been domineering, not realizing his wife's limitations; or, when he has realized them, he has made decisions concerning the family without consulting her. On her part, Florence has been developing resourcefulness and strength in meeting situations, but she sometimes has shown emotional instability. Twice after family quarrels she left home. With the help of the agency the situations were straightened out and the family reunited; for under their surface disagreements both husband and wife have a real desire to preserve the family life, and they realize its value to the children. Maternal affection and responsibility are now apparent in Florence's attitude, although these characteristics were not noticeable earlier. She seems to have developed gradually in character, and she now shows resourcefulness and forethought in making her plans.

Since her mother's marriage Elsie has been accepted by relatives. The husband has shown a very fine attitude toward his stepchild. He takes a special interest in her and often is wiser and more patient than her mother, and the child shows affection for him and trust in him.

The mother has affection for Elsie and interest in her, but has been unable to meet certain difficult behavior problems that began to develop a year ago. Elsie did not study, and her teachers complained that she was untruthful and that she frequently took money from others. Under observation in a child-guidance clinic she has improved. Florence has done her best to cooperate with the clinic, and her husband has been a real help in the special interest he has shown in Elsie and in the understanding he has given her. There are encouragingly fewer complaints regarding her conduct. At 8 years of age she is in the second grade at school. She does not know of her illegitimate birth.

The agency has had contact with the case for 10 years, with two intermissions.

Rita.—After discovering her pregnancy, Lurline, a 17-year-old girl, went to the home of a married sister in another city. The sister received her, sheltered her before and after confinement, and later helped in making plans. A church referred her to the agency after the baby, Rita, was born.

Lurline said she would be "beholden to nobody," that she could wash and cook, and that she expected to work and keep her baby with

her. She had not been employed before the birth of the child but had lived with her parents.

She was quick tempered, sensitive, willful, independent, self-reliant, and resourceful. She had completed sixth-grade work in the public school. From the first she was determined to keep her child, toward whom she showed affection and a sense of maternal responsibility. At this time she was mentally normal, according to the impression of a number of people who had continuous contact with her (later she manifested emotional instability for a time).

The alleged father of the child was an apparently decent, weak boy of 17, not employed, who bore a good reputation in the country town where he and the mother lived. He lived in a good home with his stepmother.

The case was taken into court but was dismissed because of the testimony of character witnesses against the girl.

On account of Lurline's youth institutional care for a year was considered, but this plan was finally abandoned on account of her desire to maintain herself and the baby, Rita. She took a position with the baby in a physician's family, the members of which took a great deal of interest in her. While here she had an emotional disturbance; she finally was able to tell the doctor and the agency worker of details of early family life which had preyed on her mind. For several years from the time she was 11 her father had forced her to have sex relations with him. This went on with the knowledge of her mother, who made no effort to meet the situation because of the family's subjection to the father, due to his violent temper.

Later Lurline left the physician's home for a position with some patients of his, simple working people in comfortable circumstances. She and her baby were received as members of the family. Here she met and married the brother of her employer, a man 15 years older than herself. He knew her history and was attracted first by her affection and care for her child under difficulties.

For a time the young couple and Rita lived on with the husband's relatives; but later they moved to a flat of their own, and still later, to the country.

After she had been married two years Lurline left Rita with her husband and returned to her home town, saying that she was going to see the father of her child. Rumors reached the agency that she was associating immorally with a number of men, and through the help of a State agency she was returned to the city. Her home was re-established, but several months later she again deserted it. For five months both she and her husband continued in touch with the agency but lived apart with their respective relatives. At length a reconciliation was effected, and they again established a home in the city, which has been maintained ever since without a break.

Two children have been born of the marriage, both sturdy little boys. Another child is expected in a month. A true family spirit has developed after the many trials, and there seems to be a real understanding and devotion between husband and wife, in addition to their common interest in the children and devotion to them. Except for the brief time during the period of emotional instability after marriage, Lurline has shown real devotion to Rita. Much affection has existed between them, and now that the child is older,

considerable companionship. When the mother deserted, leaving Rita with the husband, he boarded her with friends for a time. No regular boarding homes or institutions were used.

Some of the relatives accepted the child from the first, and after Lurline's marriage, all did so. Rita is attending the public school. Her health is good, although it is not robust. Judged by her school progress and by the impression she has made on agency workers, she is mentally normal, and no special mental tests have been given her.

Rita is living in the home of her mother and stepfather, in a comfortable flat in the suburbs. The home is attractively furnished, and both take pride in it. The child was only 11 months old at the time of the marriage, and the husband legally adopted her when she was 5 years old. She believes her stepfather to be her father. He has always been very devoted to her, and there is real affection and understanding between them.

The child will have the protection of a good type of workingman's home. She probably will be given some trade training or other educational opportunity beyond the elementary school.

Except for the brief period of emotional instability shortly after her marriage, the mother has never considered a separation from Rita.

The father of Rita has had no contact with either mother or child since the court dismissed the case against him, eight years ago.

The agency has been in contact with the case for eight years, continuously.

Lack of adjustment in step-parental homes.

Even though their mothers had married some of the children never became an integral part of family life in the step-parental home. In a few instances this was due to active dislike for the child or lack of interest in him on the part of the stepfather, in others to behavior difficulties of the child or to lack of frankness of the mother as to her relationship to the child.

Of the 128 cases in which the child had a stepfather a definitely unfavorable attitude on the part of the stepfather was shown in only 6, although in a number of histories the information was insufficient to indicate the child's place in the stepfather's affections.

That the wise assistance of an interested agency may be of great value in helping a child who is disturbed emotionally on account of his unsatisfactory family relationship is shown in the story of Bertram (p. 50). The stepfather of Corinne was one of the few men who exhibited active dislike for his wife's child of illegitimate birth.

Corinne.—Angela applied to a child-welfare agency for advice in planning for her baby, Corinne, as her father wanted her to have nothing to do with the baby's bringing up. Her parents were foreign born. Her father was a stern, unkind man, who denied his children all pleasures at home and outside, as much as he could. Her mother was kind, and Angela and the other children loved her. Angela's father expected her to pay board for the child in his home and live there herself. The young mother had refused to go home, but she had permitted her family to make the plans for the baby. Angela's mother had taken the baby into the home, and Angela had continued to work as nursemaid in a family.

Angela was a tall, slender girl of 18 with high color and every evidence of health. Her mentality seemed to be above the average; but she had finished only four grades of the elementary school, having left school when she was only 11 years old.

The baby's father was a waiter. He signed an agreement to pay $8 a week for 12 years toward the baby's support.

Before the child, Corinne, was 2 years old, Angela gave birth to another child. She would not name the man whom she believed to be responsible for the child, saying that there was a possibility of mistake on her part. Before the second child's birth Angela had contracted syphilis and had spent several months in a hospital. After this child's birth she entered domestic service, keeping the second baby with her, while Corinne still remained in the home of her grandparents. After a year the second baby died. All this time Angela had been keeping in touch with Corinne, visiting her at the grandparents' home without the grandfather's knowing it.

After her second child died Angela obtained a position as nurse-maid for three little children and remained there two years. She was still under medical treatment, and the physician considered her case as at a stage where there was no danger of infecting others. While away for the summer with this family Angela met a man whom she married a year later. She told him about Corinne but not about her second child.

At the beginning of her married life Angela wanted to have Corinne with her and, with her husband's consent, she brought her into the home; but the child was so difficult to manage that she was returned to her grandmother. Again and again the husband and wife tried to keep the child, but each time the plan was given up and the child was returned to her grandmother. The grandmother died about 15 months ago; and the home was broken up, as the grandfather had died several years before. So Corinne now lives with her mother and calls her "aunt." Angela does not know whether or not Corinne knows the truth about their relationship, as the child had formerly called her "mother."

Corinne now goes to school regularly. She was two years in one grade, but the mother believes that this was due not to any lack in the child but to carelessness on the part of her grandparents in not seeing that she attended school regularly. Her temper does not seem to be bad now, and she gives no trouble in the home.

Angela now has three children of her marriage and lives in a suburb of a large city, where she was recently visited by the former agency worker. Ever since the marriage she and her husband have been buying their house and a good-sized lot. In two years they will have completed the payments. She told the worker, with some pride, that she belonged to the literary club of the town, also to the woman's club and also to a national fraternal organization. Her husband objects to all these outside activities, but she will not accede to his wishes and remain entirely at home. He is head porter in a large hotel, where he has been long employed. He is industrious and a good husband and is a good father to his own children, but not to Corinne. He resents her presence and grudges her everything that she must have. He will not speak to her, and she is so afraid of him that the mother never even sends him a message by her.

So far the mother has been fair and treats the girl as she treats her other children. The situation is difficult, as the mother says she has no real affection for this child as she has for the others. The little girl is impulsive and affectionate, and Angela can not respond as she should. The constant friction between her husband and herself about the child is making trouble in the home, and she does not know what to do.

Up to the time of the worker's visit the mother had no plans, but was just letting things drift. She realized that it was very bad for the child to be brought up in this atmosphere, yet she did not know what to do. She consented to the agency worker's suggestion that her youngest brother be seen by the worker and the situation talked over, in the hope that some of the family will be willing to take the child. If this plan is not feasible it may be possible to put her in a good school where she may be trained to earn her living.

Corinne's father contributed fairly regularly to her support for the 12 years agreed upon.

The agency has had contact for 12 years. The last few years it has been only a friendly relation through a former worker, until a crisis has called for action.

Bertram.—When Bertram was 3 years old his mother, Frances, 24 years old, asked a child-caring agency to find a boarding home for him, as she was about to be married, and she intended to continue her work as bookkeeper.

Frances was a refined girl, whereas her mother appeared to be coarse, with indications of mental deficiency. The family were of a rather ordinary, vulgar type, except Frances's father and grandmother, and Frances herself, who had a particularly sweet, fine strain in her, characterized by loyalty, devotion, self-sacrifice, perseverance, and lack of suspicion or resentment. She had graduated from high school and had fitted herself for clerical work.

The father of the child was of good family and bore a good reputation. He had a high-school education, and he held a good business position. He was single and lived with his mother. Because he considered Frances's family beneath his he had refused to marry her. By private agreement he paid her $300 at the time of the child's birth.

Frances and the child were living with her family, who were kind and sympathetic to her and devoted to the child. She planned that she and her husband should live with her relatives.

Bertram was not placed in a foster home but lived for seven years with his mother and stepfather in the home of her relatives. A year after the marriage a child was born to Frances and her husband. Frances continued to work as bookkeeper. Throughout her married life she has practically supported her relatives, with a little help from her husband and his relatives, who are of a very superior type. There has always been a cordial relationship between these relatives and the mother and child.

Knowledge of the mother's history seemed to have little effect on the community's attitude toward her. She had no intimate friends, but she was liked and respected.

Bertram's stepfather, a man of really superior mentality and tastes, was high-strung and extremely nervous, and in poor health. He got into bad company and for a time was unlucky in business. Frances

was indulgent to Bertram and weak in discipline, and when at the age of about 8 years the boy developed behavior difficulties, considerable friction developed between the stepfather, whose attitude toward the child had been good on the whole, and the mother and boy. Bertram, a highly sensitive child, above normal mentally, became disobedient and dishonest, was a truant from school, as a result spending three years in one grade, had severe fits of crying and despondency with occasional outbreaks of stealing, and caused so much friction and distress that there was danger of the home's being broken up.

For these reasons, when the boy was 10 years of age the agency recommended that he be placed at board in a foster home. It was thought that by this plan Bertram would find it easier to overcome behavior difficulties and adjust himself to life, and the stepfather might be encouraged to procure steady work, eventually making possible the reestablishment of the home and the giving up of outside employment by the mother. It was also recommended that Frances and her husband establish a home apart from her relatives, who had a bad influence on the husband. It was a sacrifice for Frances to pay part of the boy's board and provide clothing, and a hard struggle for the mother and boy to part, but this was accomplished.

At the time the decision as to placement was being made, Bertram was studied by a psychiatrist. It was then discovered that most of the boy's behavior difficulties were due to severe mental conflict. He did not understand about his illegitimate birth; but when he was about 8 years old his status became known in the community, and he overheard queer things about himself and his mother, and was called names by his playmates. At one time his grandmother, in a fit of anger, called him "bastard." These experiences made him feel that he was different from other boys, and he worried constantly.

On the advice of the psychiatrist he was told the truth about himself and his father. His reaction at first was one of great anger toward his father. This soon changed to increased affection and remarkable devotion for his mother. He became adjusted well in the boarding home, where he remained two years, and later he was placed on a farm, where for two years he has been earning his own board and attending school. At 14 he is in junior high school. Occasional week ends and holidays are spent at home. He is still regarded by his relatives as belonging to the family as truly as any other member, and his great-grandfather adores him. He is fast developing into a fine, manly, trustworthy boy, with the greatest love for home and mother. He is very fond of his little half-brother, who is also living in a foster home.

Home conditions have greatly improved, the health and morale of the stepfather are much better, and real companionship and mutual liking are developing between Bertram and his stepfather. It is hoped that in another year the family can be reunited and the mother give up work outside the home. The parents now live in another community, where their history is not known.

Frances has never for a moment wavered in her determination to keep her child. The determining factor may have been her sense of duty and loyalty (so strongly seen since in relation to her husband), as well as her natural affection toward her child, toward whom her attitude has been that of any good married mother. Doubtless the

affectionate attitude of her relatives and their somewhat lax morals made it easier for Frances to keep the boy, but apparently she never seriously thought of doing otherwise. She has, however, confessed recently to the agency worker that she has " been through fiery agony and suffered till she could suffer no more, but that is all past and the hurt is gone."

Bertram's father has had nothing more to do with the mother or the child. He is now a successful business man, is married, and has three children.

The agency has had continuous contact with the case for 11 years.

Step-parental homes broken up.

In some cases the mother's marriage was not successful, and it failed to establish a happy family life, yet it had been of some service through providing a definite status for the mother and her child in the community. In other cases the stepfather died.

In the following stories of Maud and Winifred the mother and stepfather did not continue to live together, but the child benefited by the marriage to the extent of being recognized as belonging to a normal family group. Although Estelle's stepfather died when she was 12 years of age the mother was enabled to maintain a home until her death by a grant from a State mothers' pension fund. The mother of Robert (p. 57) was of too low-grade mentality to maintain her own home. The wise guidance of the agency and of interested foster parents have been the dominating factors in the boy's life.

Maud.—Maud's mother, Ethel, a girl of 17, had syphilis and gonorrhea, and therefore could obtain maternity care only at a municipal hospital. She had entered during pregnancy and soon after admission had been referred to a children's agency. For a year she had been a nursemaid in a family in moderate circumstances, where her wages were about the average for this work, and she had saved no money. Her plan, as stated by herself to the worker, was to put the baby away and enter a house of prostitution. Ethel said this quite frankly, adding that she understood that that was all a girl in her circumstances could do.

Her mother had died when she was 7 years old, leaving several children, each of whom was placed by their father with a different family. For years Ethel had known nothing of her relatives. She had been reared by a kind woman who had little education and who gave the child no opportunities, chiefly because her own limited experience included no vision for any child beyond the required number of years in school, then work. Ethel did not recall when she began work, but it was when she was very young, doing errands and chores for neighbors. The work as nursemaid that she had been doing when she became pregnant was the first for which she had received regular wages. No mental examination was given, as the girl was judged to be of normal mentality, somewhat above the average, considering her lack of opportunity.

A few years before the birth of the child Ethel's father had returned to the city. He had been married for some years, and he was in comfortable circumstances, but he had no thought of any obligation to his daughter. Ethel's brother, two years older than she, was boarding with his father.

When asked about the father of the child, Ethel gave a confused story of going out on a party with a girl friend and two men, of being given something to drink, and later awakening in a room in a cheap hotel. She disclaimed knowledge even of the man's surname. Effort to get some information through the girl friend and the hotel proved vain, and Ethel never gave any other story.

After the case was referred to the agency it was found that the baby had congenital syphilis and gonorrheal infection of the eyes. Hospital treatment was provided before any attempt was made to place the mother and baby. After several months of treatment they both went to a maternity home, whose superintendent, when visiting the hospital in the course of missionary work, had met the mother and become interested in her. This home and the agency cooperated in the plans for Ethel and the baby, and when placement could safely be made she was given a position at domestic work, keeping the baby with her.

Her father and stepmother did nothing for her. Her brother claimed that he was unable to assist her because his father controlled his earnings. Ethel's foster mother was kind. She allowed Ethel and the baby to visit her and rendered them a little assistance—as much as was possible in her circumstances.

Both the mother and the child, Maud, were kept under medical observation and treatment until discharged by the physician in charge of the clinic where they were treated. The child was discharged much sooner than the mother, who remained under observation for six years. Through this period Ethel worked in several homes, doing domestic work, and the medical problem was always frankly explained to the employer. It is significant that in no case did this prevent an employer from taking the mother and child. The homes selected were always those in which the mother did not have the status of a servant, but where she had somewhat, if not always entirely, the position of one of the family. Due consideration for the child was always insured.

In one home of this type where she and the child lived about two years Ethel came to know a young man, a mechanic, who wanted to marry her. As her employer and the worker of the agency were both in her confidence she introduced the man to them and was quite frank with him about their relations with her. For months he visited her, and her employer was impressed with his sincerity. He took Ethel to visit his family. They received her and Maud well, and he appeared to be devoted to the child as well as to her mother. When the child was 3 years old they were married, and they then made their home with the husband's family.

All had gone well for some months, when Ethel discovered that her husband was a bigamist. She left him, and soon afterwards he was arrested and convicted.

All through this time Ethel's family had remained unfriendly, and they now refused her any help. As it was necessary for her to resume supporting herself and Maud, she returned to domestic work. Within a year she married a man of a respected, thrifty family. He was genuinely kind to his wife and to Maud. Two children were born of this marriage. At no time did Ethel's husband discriminate in any way in favor of his own children. However, serious difficulty

confronted the wife in the fact that he was addicted to the use of drugs. He would go out daily to work, spend his earnings for drugs, and then say that he could not get work, while the wife was doing housework by the day to support the family. The spectacle of his wife, not a robust woman, doing the housework of the home and outside work in addition did not affect him. At times his married brothers gave some assistance; but they urged his wife to leave him, and they were unwilling to do much.

Ethel's family had gradually become friendly and now were in the habit of visiting her. Her brother left the father's home and came to board with her in order to help her, but their father gave no assistance. Several times relief was given by a family agency, to which the case had been transferred by the social agency that had previously dealt with it. At one time the husband was induced to enter a sanitarium where he was treated for drug addiction, the expense being paid by the city charities. For some time after this he did well, but he finally reverted to the use of the drugs. Finally Ethel became afraid to continue living with him. After the final break the husband disappeared entirely.

With relief from the family-welfare agency and the friendly care of the visitor from the social agency the family has for several years enjoyed normal home life. In spite of the vicissitudes through which she has passed, Maud has been happy, and, even at the worst times in her mother's difficulties, has been at least fairly well cared for. At the time of the birth of the last baby she was placed temporarily in a boarding home. Her revelations to the boarding mother regarding the advantages in this home over the inadequate equipment and means in her own home, which the child saw only in the light of the disadvantages to her mother, indicated the really deep bond between the mother and child. This experience did much to hasten an appreciation on the part of the agency of the need of the family for some definite change in plan.

Maud, though not a beautiful child, has always been attractive, with an appealing personality. She developed rapidly during the five years of tranquil home life after her mother's second marriage was broken up. Her progress in school has been normal. According to the plan of the family agency the mother earns some money for the family support by working four hours a day as waitress in the restaurant of a department store; the family-welfare agency contributes the remainder of the money required. A friendly visitor from the social agency that first dealt with the case has taken great interest in Maud. At one time the child alarmed her mother by her unwillingness to take care of her two little brothers after school and by what the mother termed "her wildness." As it was feared that her actions might be danger signals the child was seen by a psychiatrist, by arrangement of the friendly visitor, with gratifying results. His recommendation was that Maud be given greater opportunity for suitable recreation and for cultivation of her talent for drawing. The friendly visitor promptly set to work to procure the needed resources. Maud became a member of a swimming club and a skating club. A scholarship in an art school was procured for her, and she spends certain hours in the afternoons there, happily occupied.

Ethel, ever cooperative and intelligent in her efforts for the welfare of her children, has entered whole-heartedly into all these plans. She has always been a good housekeeper and a fine mother. She was originally a pretty girl, with refinement and delicacy of manner. Naturally her experiences have left some trace. It was gratifying to the agency worker who had first known her to note that recently she appeared well—even robust—and that her manner confirmed the satisfaction that she expressed in telling of the circumstances of her family.

Maud considers herself the child of the first husband. She only vaguely understands that some difficulty necessitated that her mother leave him. She has always borne the surname of her stepfather since her mother's marriage to him. The fact that her early recollections include seeing the first husband so much in her home with her mother prior to the marriage which ended in his conviction for bigamy no doubt served to fix this impression in the child's mind. The mother apparently does not think of the possibility that Maud will ask for further information. The child is generally regarded as legitimate and her position among other children is assured. Before Ethel's first marriage she did not attempt to conceal her true status. However, she had no associates in the neighborhoods in which she worked, except the families with whom she lived, so it is possible that she may be safe in her confidence that Maud will never be disturbed as to her paternity.

One would expect that this child would have to go to work early. Her exact place in school now has not been ascertained, but at 14 she is still in school. The interest of the friendly visitor and the child's talent for drawing will probably be the means of assisting her to get an adequate education. On the whole the prospects for Maud's future are favorable.

The agency had continuous contact for seven years (after which the case was referred to a family-welfare agency), and a friendly visitor has continued contact to the present.

Winifred.—A penniless foreign-born girl of 19, Cornelia, was referred with her 16-day-old child, Winifred, to the agency (a maternity home) by the hospital where the child had been born. She had left a widowed mother in Europe and had come to the United States less than a year before to join her only brother. She was of good mentality and could read and write. She was a fairly capable and reliable houseworker, though slow. Her plan was to remain in the maternity home until the child, Winifred, could be placed at board in a family.

Cornelia had known the father of her child two years. He worked in a grocery store in the town where she had lived with her mother. She said that he was of good character. After her arrival in this country, when she discovered that she was pregnant, she induced her brother to send a steamship ticket for the young man. She was corresponding with him and considered herself engaged to be married to him. A few months later the young man left his home to start for the United States, but on account of a contagious eye condition he was turned back before boarding the steamer. She then expected that he would join her later, but on account of the World War he was unable to do so.

Cornelia's brother was kind and did everything he could to help her. However, he was in poor circumstances; and besides he married about a week after her admission to the maternity home.

During her stay at the home Cornelia did well in school work and showed ability in learning English. She showed a sense of responsibility and she seemed promising. Upon her discharge, two years later, she was placed in a domestic position and her child, Winifred, was placed at board in a family. After 10 months the mother left the position and went to work in a restaurant. She rented two small rooms and took the child to live with her. One of her neighbors cared for the little girl during the day, receiving $5 a week for her services. This arrangement lasted three months and then Cornelia and another mother from the maternity home took a small apartment together and both placed their children in a day nursery during their working-day.

By this time the mother had given up hope that her child's father would ever join her and she married another man, a clothing operator. He seemed fond of Cornelia and he accepted the child. Everything appeared to go well. After three years Cornelia learned that her husband had been married before and that his wife and three children had recently arrived in the United States. He left Cornelia and Winifred and returned to his former wife. He proved to the satisfaction of the court that he had believed honestly that his wife had died in Europe during the war and thus he escaped a sentence for bigamy.

Cornelia resumed her former plan of sharing an apartment with the aforementioned friend and still lives there. She is employed at making paper boxes. Her earnings are small, but she is economical and a fairly good manager. Living with her friend has helped considerably in lessening expenses. She naturally suffered greatly from the shock caused by the break-up of her marriage. However, the love and interest of her child have helped greatly to sustain her in life.

Winifred, now 9 years old, is physically well developed and rather tall for her age—a charming girl, well behaved and well mannered. She is intelligent and she has a sense of responsibility, assuming various little duties about the house. In school she is in a rapid-advancement class of grade 4A.

Cornelia continues to pass in the neighborhood as a married woman. Winifred believes that her father is the man that her mother married. She thinks her mother and father have been divorced.

The agency has had contact with the case for 10 years, with one intermission of 3 years following the mother's marriage.

Estelle.—The Jones family was referred to an agency for material relief. Estelle, 10 years of age, the oldest of the five children, was not the child of her mother's husband, but had been born out of wedlock two years before her mother's marriage. The family was in very poor circumstances and was being assisted by relatives and by a church.

The mother, Nancy, had been reared in an orphanage until she was 14 years of age, when she was taken out and cared for by her father. At the orphanage she received the ordinary training, but

her mentality was reported as very low. When she was 16 years old she gave birth to the child, Estelle. She would not tell who was the father. Nancy's father and sister helped her to care for the baby in their home.

Two years after the birth of Estelle, Nancy married a man not the father of the child. The stepfather earned a small salary and was able to give his family only the bare necessities of life. Notwithstanding all their difficulties, Nancy persisted in keeping her little girl with her. They lived in a poor neighborhood amid squalid, miserable surroundings. The mother was in poor health for a number of years, and the little girl assisted in caring for her four younger half-sisters. The stepfather was always good to Estelle and treated her as his own, and she was entirely unaware of the difference in parentage. The mother worked, when she was able, going out evenings to scrub office buildings.

With the assistance of the church and the agency, the home conditions gradually improved.

A year after the case was referred to the agency the stepfather died of influenza. Financial relief was obtained from a social agency, and a "mother's allowance" was granted by the county. This income, with a little supplementary help, enabled the mother and children to get along comfortably.

Estelle completed the eighth grade when but 13 years of age and was enrolled in a two-year commercial course. She had a superior mind, and her teachers were much impressed by her high principles. She graduated from the commercial course with the highest honors, and a good position was obtained for her. When her mother attended the graduation tears of joy filled her eyes; she was justly proud of the girl's success.

There was a deep-rooted love on the part of this child for her mother and sisters. At the death of the stepfather she assumed his place in the family. The mother was mentally and physically incompetent to manage the household. The daughter was of a distinctly opposite type from the mother—very refined in her manner and modest in her bearing, whereas the mother was loud and coarse. But the mother had an outstanding love for her children and was extremely proud of Estelle's ability.

The mother died shortly after the girl's graduation, and the children are now being cared for by their maternal aunt. Estelle has a good position as stenographer, and she gives all her earnings to her aunt for the support of herself and her sisters.

Although the mother's past history was known to a number of people in her neighborhood her status in the community and in her church was not lowered thereby, as she proved herself a good mother to her children and lived down the mistake of her girlhood. So far as is known Estelle is unaware of her illegitimate birth.

Estelle's father never assumed paternal responsibility.

The agency has had continuous contact for seven years.

Robert.—When Robert was 4 years old his relatives applied to an agency for help in placing him in a boarding home. The mother, Minnie, 32 years old at this time, had had two children of illegitimate birth before Robert was born, both of whom had been placed

in foster homes during infancy. With the third child the mother remained in a maternity home for two years. Then she married and took Robert to her husband's home. After two years the couple separated, and Minnie found herself dependent on her relatives for the support of herself, Robert, and another child born of the marriage.

Nothing was known of the father of Robert.

On mental examination Minnie was pronounced an imbecile. Efforts were made to place her in a suitable institution, but this was not done for several years. During the interval Minnie first worked as a domestic servant; later she lived with her husband or her relatives. Several times she disappeared after stealing rather large sums of money from employers. Finally she went to the maternity home, where she had found shelter during her first three pregnancies, and asked to be placed where she would be shielded from temptation. She was then placed in a home for feeble-minded persons.

During these years Robert and the boy of legitimate birth were boarded in foster homes under the supervision of the agency, first separately and then together, the husband contributing occasional small amounts to their board. After four and a half years together they were separated again for their mutual benefit. Robert was then placed in the care of a superior type of boarding mother, where he remained four years, until he reached his fifteenth year.

After leaving this foster home the boy lived for nine months in his grandmother's home, his mother being still in the school for the feeble-minded. The house was crowded, and the presence of a big, active boy was too much for the family nerves; but the whole household has always regarded him with affection. He was again placed in an agency foster home, because, in spite of the kindly attitude of his family, it was felt that he needed a more normal and stimulating home atmosphere. In this last home he found a wise and vitally interested foster father and mother, who became as sincerely attached to him as he to them. They have seen him through the crises of adolescence with understanding and affection and have given him a real home.

He graduated with honor from a good technical school, having earned enough while at school to help out substantially with his expenses. He is above the average in intelligence.

As a very small boy Robert had an attitude of contempt toward his mother, due in part to his having heard adverse comment on her character and intelligence from foster parents and from her own family. By the time he was 16 this attitude had become one of marked bitterness, and manifested itself in deliberate rudeness and unkindness. The agency worker talked the matter over with him with unsparing frankness and scathingly rebuked him for his cruelty. His attitude gradually changed, and he now treats his mother with a kindness and consideration for which she is pathetically grateful.

By the time Robert was 18 Minnie's mother had become a chronic invalid. One of her half-sisters had married, and the other was working. Minnie was then 42 and had improved so much in the home for the feeble-minded that it was felt that she might safely return to her family. So for four years she has been their hard-

working, efficient—but unpaid—housekeeper, earning enough money for her few needs by doing work outside for some of the neighbors. Visits and telephone calls from her son, membership in the adult Bible class in the church, and an occasional dinner and motion-picture show with the agency worker are the high lights of her daily round of unselfish service to her family.

At 19, Robert, with the agency's approval, set out to see the world. He worked his way to a large western city and obtained work with a public-utility concern. He took a night position so that he could study at the local university by day. He is now back in his native city and holds a good position in the branch office of the western company. He is a fine, clean, upstanding, gentlemanly lad.

He sees his stepfather occasionally and seems to have some regard for him. The stepfather has always declared that he would never tell the boy the circumstances of his birth. He did, however, tell him many details of his mother's past delinquencies, and it seems likely that Robert knows of his illegitimate birth, though he has never spoken of it.

The agency has had contact with the mother intermittently, since before Robert's birth to the present time.

George.—When the case was referred to the agency Mary's baby, George, was 2 weeks old. The mother needed the agency's help in getting the father to pay something toward the child's support. She was 19 and had been a domestic worker, earning $8 a week. She had completed the eight elementary-school grades, and she talked well. Her mother was dead, and she had lived with her father and sister. She had two brothers, who lived away from home. When her father learned of her pregnancy he turned her out. On the day her child was born she had walked several miles in a heavy rain to the home of a former employer, a wealthy woman, who sheltered her and sent for a physician. He rushed her to a hospital, where the baby was born almost immediately. The mother and the baby were later placed by this same kind woman in a maternity home, where they remained for more than six months. Then they went to Mary's home, peace having been made with her father by her brothers and sister.

A year or two before, she and her sister, who was pretty (Mary was not), had joined a theatrical troupe as part of the "multitude." They went with the company to another city for a time and then returned to their home city. Having made some money, they established themselves in an apartment on a notorious avenue and proceeded to entertain. According to Mary's story they had many visitors. Though these circumstances made it doubtful whether the child's paternity could be fixed Mary insisted that she could prove her case.

Little was learned about the alleged father, beyond the fact that he was foreign born. He was well established in business and boarded in an excellent neighborhood, and appeared to have a considerably higher social status than Mary. He was seen only twice by the agency worker, both times with his attorney, in conference with Mary, her attorney, and the agency worker. He was good looking and well groomed, and he seemed well educated. Mary

seemed amazed at his formal manner. The man did not deny the charges.

He signed an agreement to pay $10 a month for the child. After two or three payments he asked to close the case with a settlement of $350. This amount was refused, and $800 was suggested. A compromise was effected for $500, and the money was paid in cash. After the receipt was given to the man, in the presence of both lawyers and Mary, he dropped entirely out of her life. Mary paid the attorney who represented her a fee of $25.

Within the next year Mary married a widower with one child. The money may have been an asset in the marriage. She attempted to draw so heavily on it that the agency refused to advance any but the monthly allowance stipulated. The agency worker visited the new home and met the husband. He owned a small house, which might have been attractive but which was instead untidy, dirty, and ill ventilated. The husband was antagonistic to the agency. He could not or would not see the justice of protecting George's money. The agency finally agreed to turn over any unexpended balance after the child was legally adopted, and this was done within a year.

Mary died from tuberculosis when George was 7. Her sister, who had married a brother of Mary's husband, took the little boy. He is in their home at the present time.

The agency has had contact with the case, intermittently, for nine years.

Adjustment of children before marriage of mothers.

The following story of John is given by way of contrast with the preceding stories. The mother of this child showed unusual stability, remaining in one place of employment for 15 years. She came to this country only a few months before the child's birth and apparently had been known as a widow. She did not marry until her son was 15 years of age. The story illustrates the kind of case in which the child is well adjusted before the mother's marriage in the household where the mother was employed in domestic service.

John.—A 19-year-old mother of foreign birth. Gertrude was referred to the agency by a hospital when her baby was about 1 year old. She had been employed by the hospital after leaving the maternity ward, and she now was seeking household employment in a home where she could keep the child, John.

Gertrude had been two years in the United States, having left her native country when she was pregnant. She knew little of American ways but proved quick and adaptable. She never mentioned her relatives, and probably they were all in Europe. Her baby attracted the interest and attention of all who saw him because of his fine physical condition and his beauty. Gertrude was devoted to him, and she had no plan except to work for him and keep him. There was no information concerning her employment record previous to the child's birth.

Gertrude impressed everybody coming in contact with her as being intelligent and capable of managing her affairs. Her education in her own language was fair, and her health was good.

Very little was recorded of the child's father. Apparently he was superior in station to the mother. He was known to have written to

the mother from Europe when the child was about 5 years old. Her employer, who knew her well, had reason to think that the man sent a sum of money for the child.

The agency placed Gertrude at domestic service with John in a good type of suburban home, where both remained for 15 years. She was most satisfactory in her work, and she showed much strength of character. Her employer's family, three adults, took great interest in the boy's development and education. From the beginning he showed evidence of good mental and physical powers. His progress through the elementary school was satisfactory, and he graduated from high school when he was 17. Besides doing well in his studies he excelled in athletics and was the champion high jumper of the high schools of the county. He won a scholarship and is now a sophomore in one of the largest and best-known universities. The family who employed his mother are much interested in his career and are helping to pay his college expenses. John works every summer to help pay these expenses; his mother also contributes a share. The relations between mother and son through the years have been in every way harmonious.

When John was in the fourth year of the high-school course Gertrude was married to a man employed on the place where she lived so long—a man in fairly prosperous circumstances. Shortly after the marriage he bought a large farm, and the couple went to live there. No children have been born of the marriage. Last summer John stayed with them, going to work each day in a large town near by, where he obtained a temporary position in a laboratory. The future of Gertrude and her son seems secure. Certainly she never has regretted keeping the boy. It is not known whether he suspects anything irregular in his birth. If the truth becomes known it is probable that it will make no difference to him. His natural gifts command respect from all who know him, and he is receiving excellent training in the professional career that he has chosen.

CHILDREN WHOSE MOTHERS DID NOT MARRY

Ninety-eight mothers did not marry after the birth of their children (three of these mothers had been married, however, before the birth of the child considered in the study). The great majority of the children of these mothers (73 per cent) were still under 16 years of age at the time the last information was obtained, and consequently many of them were still in need of considerable periods of care and supervision. The periods of time, however, during which they had been in the custody of their mothers seemed sufficient to indicate whether their best interests would be served by a continuance of this plan. Fifty of the 98 mothers who did not marry were known generally as married women, representing themselves as widows or deserted wives. Seven were known in the community as unmarried mothers, and 12 concealed the fact of their motherhood. No information was obtained as to the status in the community of 29 mothers.

In some of the 12 cases in which the mother concealed the fact of her motherhood the child had been placed in the home of relatives, where his parentage was known only to the family, even the child himself not knowing his mother. In a few cases the mother boarded

the child in a family home or an institution where she visited him but kept all knowledge of the child from her neighbors and her associates at work. Most of these mothers saw their children from time to time—some of them frequently—and many of them were supporting the children unassisted, though only 44 of the 98 were keeping the children with them. Three mothers had died, 2 were in hospitals for the insane, and 49 others were living away from their children at the time of the last information.

Fewer changes from place to place were necessary for most of the children who were received into the homes of relatives when quite young than for children placed elsewhere.

In grouping the following histories the emphasis was placed not on the home in which the child was first cared for nor on the home in which he was living at last information, but on the home which appeared to have been most largely responsible for the child's adjustment in the community and his preparation for self-support.

CHILDREN IN HOMES OF GRANDPARENTS OR MOTHER'S FOSTER PARENTS

Although much uncertainty as to the outcome is involved in the return of an unmarried mother with her child to the home in which she was reared, sometimes a mother faces the ordeal either because no other course seems open to her or because she realizes that by going home she will give the child the opportunity for a normal home life. Thirty-four of the mothers who returned home in the beginning with their babies married later; 10 mothers did not marry but continued living with their relatives until their death or to the time of the last information. Four mothers did not return home immediately after the birth of the child. In two of these cases the baby was received by the mother's parents before she returned home. Only 3 of these 10 mothers who did not marry but remained in their parental homes were generally known in their communities as having a child of illegitimate birth. One had been married before and had no difficulty in passing her child as legitimate; and 2 did not acknowledge their maternity, claiming some other relative as the mother. The ostensible status of 4 mothers was not clear.

Those mothers who returned after the children were beyond infancy found no difficulty in passing as widows.

The following stories of Genevieve and Hugh show the efforts made by the mothers and their parents to protect the children from knowledge of their unusual situation even when the mothers face the problems squarely.

Genevieve.—Betty, Genevieve's mother, was six months pregnant when she was brought to the agency by her foster mother, Mrs. L. with whom she had been living in another State.

Mrs. L. and her husband had lived in a scattered New England village. They owned a tiny farm, which yielded a scanty hay and potato crop. The proceeds from this, together with Mr. L.'s Army pension, supported them. When Mrs. L. was 53 and her husband much older they adopted a baby 14 days old, Betty, whose mother had died at the girl's birth, leaving nine growing children. Their father was poor and was struggling with an unproductive farm, so that he welcomed the offer to adopt the baby.

Betty was brought up with no knowledge of the fact that she had been adopted, and she became the center of the home life. She was sweet and obedient, and devoted to the elderly couple. When Mr. L. died, Betty and Mrs. L. became almost inseparable companions. Betty was a well-behaved child in school, and she regularly attended the little village church and Sunday school. As she grew older she taught a class and played the organ at the church services. She was kind to everyone, visiting neighbors who were sick or in trouble. She had attended a rural school, where she finished the elementary grades, but failed in two subjects when taking high-school examinations. This was a great disappointment to her, and later when several new subjects were added to the grammar-school curriculum, she returned for another year. Occasionally she did some clerical work at a village store and earned a little money to tide her mother and herself over a hard time. They lived frugally always.

Mr. B., a family friend who lived on a prosperous farm a few miles away, helped the two women to garner their crops and advised them in their business affairs. They often turned to him and to his wife, who, having no children of her own, was especially fond of Betty. Often Mrs. B. stopped for the girl on her way to church services or took her home afterwards. Mrs. B. had been a teacher and could help Betty in many ways, and a warm friendship grew up between them.

Betty went seldom to social affairs and knew few young people. The fact that one young man called upon her several times was a matter for comment. When she was 20 years old she went to her mother in great distress and told her that she was pregnant. It was like the explosion of a bomb. Mrs. L. became wild and hysterical. When she came to herself she made immediate plans for taking Betty to the city, where she thought they could hide the disgrace, dispose of the baby, and return to their old life.

The girl was quiet, self-contained, serious, and amiable; brave when speaking of herself but crying bitterly when speaking of her foster mother. She showed much simplicity combined with unexpected determination. Mrs. L. wanted to leave Betty in the care of the agency until after the birth of the child and then to take Betty home, leaving the baby to the care of the State. Betty was fond of her baby and wished to keep her but would have given her up to satisfy her mother, whose grief over the situation was her first concern.

When Mrs. L. and Betty applied to the agency for advice Betty said that their only neighbor, Mr. C., a man over 60 and a family friend, had assaulted her when she was alone in the schoolhouse doing some cleaning. She gave the story in detail and was clear in her statement. Both mother and daughter begged that no effort be made to obtain support from him lest the whole story should become public. The visitor for the agency told them that no promise could be made, as it would be necessary to establish paternity.

Betty was placed in a maternity home, where she was generally liked by the matron and the other girls.

A man worker from the agency called upon Mr. C. and told him about the case. He was astounded and furious, denying the whole story and calling in his housekeeper to corroborate his statements.

This woman was an inveterate gossip and the following day spread the news broadcast. Still Betty stolidly repeated her original story.

The birth of the baby was difficult, and the child began life with a broken leg. Betty was devoted to her, giving her the tenderest care. Possibly because of her softened feeling she finally told the matron of the home the true story of the child's paternity, admitting that Mr. B. had several times had sex relations with her. She said that she had tried to protect him because of gratitude for all he had done for them and because of her affection for his wife.

The agency's visitor met Mr. B. by appointment. He was accompanied by his wife, and he had consulted his attorney. He denied the story and refused to do anything for the mother or the baby, saying that as Betty had made one false accusation she would have no case in court.

The visitor saw Mrs. L. in her own home and found her in a state of deep depression. Her isolation had been complete because of the attitude of the community. No one came to the house, except that the postman twice a week left a letter from Betty and a delivery boy from the store occasionally left a package. On Christmas day Mr. C., in spite of the injustice that had been done him, had dropped in to ask whether he could do anything for her.

All plans for her to join Betty in the city were refused. She sat rocking back and forth, saying "Let her come back; if you can't send her without the baby, then send it too." The agency visitor gave her what comfort she could and then called upon the minister. He was narrow in his attitude and much influenced by public opinion, and it was with difficulty that the visitor gave him a new point of view. When she left he had agreed to call upon Mrs. L.

When the baby, Genevieve, was 3 months old she and Betty were taken home to the little farmhouse by Mrs. L., who in desperation had gone to the city for them. Betty passively agreed to every plan made by her mother.

Ten years have passed, and the three are still living in the same spot. Gradually Betty resumed her old place among the village people. She returned to her church and to her organ, found work in a store, and went her way quietly and happily.

Frequently she wrote to the visitor telling of her little daughter's progress and of their contented home life.

A caller in the home wrote of Genevieve: "This is a beautiful child, with light hair and rosy cheeks and appears perfectly normal. She is in the fourth grade and likes her school work. She calls Mrs. L. mother and thinks of Betty as her sister. Mrs. L. said that she never regretted taking the baby home."

Mrs. L. has had a stroke of paralysis and is confined to her bed. Betty takes care of her at night and earns enough to employ a woman to do the day nursing. No daughter could give more love and service.

No one can tell what Betty thinks, nor whether Genevieve wonders about her father, nor why the community changed and accepted them both. It may be that the visitor actually did give the minister a new scale of values and that his influence spread through the village; or the magnanimous attitude of Mr. C. may have set an example to the townspeople.

The agency has had contact with the case for 10 years. Though as an active case it was closed after one year, informal contact has continued to the present time.

Hugh.—When referred to the agency Sylvia Brown, a lovely 21-year-old girl, and her 2-year-old son, Hugh, were living with Sylvia's family, consisting of her parents and a number of grown brothers and sisters. The Brown family were plain working people, highly respected, who had lived for many years in the same house. Sylvia had been a favorite among her associates, and she had been prominent in all the activities of the parish where the family lived and in which she and her brothers and sisters had gone to school. Like most of the other girls of her neighborhood Sylvia had gone to work in a factory after she graduated from the elementary school. She was expert at her work and made good wages. She was of a fine physical type, and her face had both strength and beauty. She seemed normal, and no mental examination was made. (It seems now as though mental examination would have been desirable, as her father had spent two years in a State hospital for the insane and one of her sisters was an epileptic.)

When Sylvia became pregnant it was expected by her family and that of the young man responsible that they would marry. The man failed her, and she determined to keep her child and provide for him. Early in her pregnancy her mother had taken her to a maternity home in an effort to protect the family name. It may be that the home's insistence on breast feeding influenced her, but it is likely that this girl under any circumstances would have kept her child purely from maternal affection. The maternity home had kept the mother and the baby for more than a year, waiting until the Brown family could have them come home. The delay was due to the mental condition of the father of the family. After his removal to a hospital Sylvia and Hugh went home, and the family received them affectionately, and never referred to the circumstances of Hugh's birth.

The father was a young man who lived with his parents in the neighborhood where the Browns lived. He had been paying Sylvia attention; and, though they were not engaged, their friends had thought that they would marry. He had had an elementary-school education and had worked at mechanical jobs. He was only about 20 years old and apparently had not yet settled down definitely to any occupation. He was of a different religion from the girl, and this was an obstacle to their marriage. It seems clear that he lacked the character and stability that characterized the girl.

During Sylvia's stay in the maternity home an effort was made by the staff of the home to bring about marriage, or, at least, a settlement for the child; but it failed, and Hugh was born without his father's having assumed any responsibility. It was believed by Sylvia and the worker at the maternity home that this failure was due to the influence of the young man's parents. He made no denial of paternity; in fact, he admitted his confidence in the girl's character and his firm belief that she had not been associated intimately with any man except himself. When he continued to withhold assistance Sylvia was induced to institute court action, which resulted in the man's conviction. He was ordered to pay $30 a year for seven years toward Hugh's support—the maximum amount that could be

ordered under the law. The sum was paid regularly for the full time.

Sylvia resumed her factory work and has continued it ever since. The father of the family returned from the hospital when Hugh was 4 years old. Whatever he thinks regarding Hugh he has never spoken of it to any of the family. The child has always called his grandparents mother and father, and his mother by her first name. He has asked no questions; no information has been given to him; apparently he regards himself as one of the children of the family.

Hugh attends the same parochial school and Sunday school that his mother attended, and he goes to church with the family. He shares the activities of the children in his neighborhood. He is a robust boy, and he gives the impression of excellent mentality; no mental examination has been made.

Sylvia is regular in her attendance at church, but she has no other break in the routine of her home life and her work. She has always felt keenly her position as an unmarried mother and has permitted herself no social life except what she has in her own home and with her child. Her physical attractiveness has increased; she is neat in her attire and has good taste. She reads good books, and the agency worker has found her an agreeable companion for an occasional afternoon or evening.

In spite of her retirement Sylvia has had some contacts with those who were formerly her friends. It is significant that she has been accorded only the most cordial treatment in all her relations—in the neighborhood, at work, and in her church group. Her natural reserve presumably has been a protection. Her neighborhood is one in which no great changes have taken place for years. The same families have lived there for a long time. Necessarily, though, there have been some newcomers. The same is true also of the place where Sylvia has been employed all these years. Whether the newcomers are aware of her status she does not know. She has never made any attempt to conceal it.

Sylvia feels that Hugh can not go on indefinitely without asking the truth about his parentage. That he has mingled freely with the children of his community in school, at play, and in church activities, up to the age of 12 years without any embarrassing situation having arisen, seems to her most remarkable. She feels that the time must come soon when it will be necessary for her to tell him the truth. Though the prospect of such an ordeal fills her with apprehension, it is characteristic of her that she has no thought except to meet the obligation when the time comes. She expresses no fear as to the consequences for herself—only for the effect on the child. Will his life be spoiled? Her mother, the only member of the family with whom she has talked about the matter, believes that Hugh will go on indefinitely as he is now and that Sylvia is unnecessarily concerned.

Sylvia's stability, with the protection of her family group, should help Hugh to make whatever adjustments may be necessary. That he will have every advantage it is possible for his mother and her family to give him seems certain. The child is handsome, well trained, and capable. His natural endowment in all probability will help to safeguard him if a crisis should arise in his life.

The agency had contact with the case five years, with further contact by a former worker for four more years.

Frederick.—While at boarding school Evelyn had become pregnant. The man in the case was said to be an instructor at the school.

Evelyn was the youngest of three children and had been a troublesome girl. After her child was born she had shown strength of character—returning to her mother's home with the baby, in spite of much gossip among the people of the small town where she lived. Evelyn's mother maintained the home on a small income, her father having been for years in a hospital for the insane. Before he became insane the father had been a much-respected resident of the town. Evelyn's older brother and sister, both of whom later became deranged mentally, were part of the household.

When Frederick, the child, was 2 years old, friends of the family advised Evelyn to apply to the social agency for help in taking him away from the town, fearing that the gossip would injure the boy's future. She loved the boy and was willing to do anything she could for his sake, so she went to the agency.

With the help of the agency Evelyn obtained work in a summer home for children, where she could keep Frederick with her. Evelyn's work was satisfactory, but the boy was too lively to submit to discipline, and soon they returned home. They remained there until Evelyn's death, 11 years later. The boy thereafter continued in his grandmother's care until her death, which took place after the boy was grown. His grandmother sent him to boarding school. A neighbor of the family, a man who had known the grandfather well, took an interest in the boy, who was intelligent, robust, and attractive. When Frederick was 14 this man told him of his illegitimate birth, and he continued to advise him even after he grew to manhood. When his grandmother died he moved to another town, definitely severing all connections with the town and his relatives.

Frederick is now 25, is married, and has a child. He is in business and owns his own home. He has not told his wife his story.

The agency closed the case after six months, but one of the workers has maintained friendly contact to the present.

CHILDREN IN HOMES ESTABLISHED BY THE MOTHERS

A few mothers established homes for themselves, taking rooms and doing various types of work to support themselves and their children. These women usually assumed the status of a widow. They were on the whole self-reliant and able to plan for themselves. The following story of Josephine shows the successful development of a girl brought up in such a home. It is probable that the temperament of the mother and the constant change in living conditions to which Dorothy (p. 69) was subjected in her early years both contributed to the instability of which she was giving evidence at the time of the last information. Most mothers who work outside their homes find it difficult to give their children the care and companionship that they need, especially through the years of adolescence, and this need is one of the problems of unmarried mothers who establish homes for themselves.

Josephine.—A foreign-born woman of 27 without relatives in this country, Harriet was referred to the agency by the hospital where her child, Josephine, had been born two years before. She had been working at the hospital ever since her discharge from the

maternity ward. She had been in domestic service before Josephine was born, and her plan was to find a domestic position where she could keep the child with her.

Harriet was self-reliant and forceful. In the opinion of all who knew her she had natural ability, good judgment, and courage in overcoming difficulties. Her education was fair, and her natural refinement and taste excellent. Her health was fairly good. She felt from the first both affection and responsibility for her child.

There is nothing on record regarding the father of the child. It has been assumed from one or two statements made by Harriet that he was her employer in one of the places she was in domestic service.

The agency found domestic employment for Harriet in a good type of suburban home, where she could keep Josephine with her. She adapted herself well to the position. Josephine showed early promise of good mental ability. She was nervous and highly strung; and her mother felt that, because frequent changes of surroundings are almost inevitable at housework, she should give up domestic work and settle near a city school, where the child's progress would not be broken. Weighed against this undoubtedly were the more helpful living conditions in the suburbs, where domestic workers are most in demand.

When the little girl was 11 years old Harriet decided that the time had come to change her manner of living. She had thriftily accumulated some savings; and coming to the agency, she talked over her plan of investing this capital in a small stationery and candy shop near a large public school. Behind the small shop were several rooms. This change meant strict economy and much anxiety, but she thought she could manage. And she did. Josephine went to the public school, and her mother turned storekeeper, supplementing her profits by doing machine sewing for women of the neighborhood.

Josephine finished the elementary school and four years later finished high school. The little shop supported the mother and daughter. There were times when it seemed that the business could not go on, and there was a period when Josephine became rather depressed about the pinched home conditions, and there was a little bitterness on the part of both. However, the mother's good management kept things going, and in the end the affection of the mother and daughter seemed to have been strengthened by the trials they shared together.

When Josephine finished high school she at once took a clerical position, and her earnings eased the strain that her mother had been under. It was thought that she was too promising a girl to stop for lack of training, and on money lent by a friend she had made through the agency Josephine took a business course in a night school and worked during the day. The school principal said that she had rarely had a pupil who did so brilliantly as Josephine. After graduation she obtained a good position.

When the World War came Josephine entered the Government service, remaining until the armistice. Then her former employers took her back, but after a short time she changed to a position with better prospects. She is now earning an unusual salary for a young woman. Her mother's health has failed, and she does no work now.

Josephine maintains a pleasant home for both in the suburbs. Both mother and daughter are highly esteemed in their circle. They attend church and teach in the Sunday school. Josephine has many friends, both men and women. The agency is not informed as to whether she knows the circumstances of her birth. There has never been a suspicion of anything irregular in the mother's conduct during the years of her acquaintance with the agency.

The agency has been in contact with the case for 25 years. For the last 17 years this contact has been continued only through friendly interest.

Dorothy.—On her own initiative Vera came to the agency, seeking employment in a family where she might keep her child, Dorothy, 14 months old, with her, as she had done in her previous situation, which had been found for her by another social agency. She was entirely dependent on her own efforts for support. Her family, consisting of her parents and two sisters, were friendly toward her and welcomed her and the child to their home during intervals when Vera was out of work. She did not remain for long periods because she quarreled with them.

Vera's character was not entirely dependable. Her father summed it up as "wild and headstrong, not strictly honest, and untruthful." She spoke with regret of her interrupted education; she had gone to the elementary school; but the birth of a little sister, who was very delicate and needed constant attention, made it necessary for Vera to leave school and remain at home. Her father conducted a small restaurant to which her mother gave most of her time. Vera's health was fairly good, and her mentality was normal. She showed more than ordinary shrewdness in managing her affairs; and her various employers found her quick, alert, and capable. Her work record before she came to the agency is no longer on file. She was 23 years old when the child was born.

There is no record of the father of the child.

From first to last Vera has shown herself adaptable to circumstances. She is an excellent cook and can always get employment at housework. Many old employers have asked to reemploy her; and even though they complained that she liked to "run things," they were glad to have her back. When she tired of housework she turned easily to the finer sorts of factory work. Her deft and skillful fingers found employment at any time. She has done telephone operating and practical nursing. She has never found it difficult to maintain herself and her daughter.

When she was not doing housework, keeping Dorothy with her, the mother and child lived in rooms where they had housekeeping privileges. Several summers the agency arranged for the mother and child to have a vacation together in an out-of-town fresh-air home. When a baby, Dorothy was delicate, and she required hospital care more than once. As she grew older the need for medical oversight continued. Her education was frequently interrupted by changes of residence, by her own illness, and by the changes in her mother's form of self-support. At 14 years she was in the sixth grade at school.

Since Dorothy was 13 the mother and daughter have been living in an excellent environment, in an unusually good type of model

apartment, consisting of two steam-heated rooms with bath. The rent is moderate, and Vera finds no difficulty in paying it. She earns a good salary managing a lunch room in a large industrial plant, and although the work is hard, the hours are not long. She passes as a widow whose husband died many years ago. Her position among casual acquaintances is unquestioned. There have been hints that her conduct was not been what it should be. These hints, never investigated, have come gratuitously from different sources—her father, a landlady with whom she once stayed for some time, and a boarder who lived with her for a time in her apartment. When she did housework the agency several times had complaints about her late hours and all-night absences.

Dorothy is an attractive girl and is quicker and more intelligent than her progress in school indicated. She lost all interest in her school work on account of the frequent interruptions. A mental test given to her at 16 years of age showed she had an intelligence quotient of 95; she was described as emotionally unstable. One Christmas she was made very happy by the gift of a violin which was her "heart's wish." It is probable that when she was at a critical age she needed more care than it was possible for her busy mother to give her and that she should not have been left to herself so much after school hours. Some of the time when her mother was working as a practical nurse the girl was left at home alone at night.

Dorothy has run away seven times. She has been before the children's court and is known to two agencies that try to help girls. The girl, who is now 16, says that her mother is too strict with her and does not allow her to go out as other girls do. She belongs to a church in the neighborhood and is allowed to attend a club meeting one evening a week. She has complained of not being dressed as well as other girls. At the time she made this complaint she was wearing a becoming khaki-colored wool dress that her mother had made and had sat up until 3 o'clock one morning to finish. She had on good woolen stockings and sensible brown shoes. The mother said that the girl wanted to wear silk stockings and high-heeled slippers and to go out every night instead of one night a week.

The girl's future does not look very bright. Her mother says openly that she regrets now that she tried to rear Dorothy. She thinks that she would have been kinder to the child if she had had her placed for adoption in some good family. When Dorothy was younger and her mother was doing household work, it was impossible to discipline the child because her crying annoyed the employers. The mother says that she has always tried to do her best for Dorothy and points out that through all her difficulties and escapades she has stood by the child.

The agency has had contact for 16 years, with two brief intermissions.

Meta.—Meta, Bernice's baby, was 4 months old when Bernice was referred by a women's organization to the agency, a maternity home. The baby was ill, and Bernice wanted to find a place where she and the child could stay together. Bernice was a factory worker of foreign birth, 21 years old. She had no savings. Her mother was dead. Her aged father was living but was still in Europe. Two married sisters and a married brother were living in the United States, but

none of them was willing to help the girl. One of the sisters had a small wholesale business and was fairly well off, but neither she nor the other members of the family were on good terms with Bernice. They considered her too independent, and they did not approve of her ways; she on her part did not care for theirs.

Bernice had begun working at an early age. She had had very little schooling but had good natural ability. She had little refinement of manner, but she was straightforward and had a good deal of initiative. She was extremely fond of her child and was anxious to keep her.

The father of the child was a barber. Bernice told the agency worker that she had been very much in love with this man for nearly five years, but that she did not urge him to marry her, as he was earning very little—she earned more than he did. While Bernice was pregnant the man married another girl. Bernice refused to press a charge against him, and paternal responsibility was never established.

Six months after Bernice and the baby, Meta, were admitted to the home, the agency placed Meta in a foster home, and Bernice took a domestic position. After a short time there she took a position in the mountains, where she could get better pay, but when the summer ended she gave up domestic work and entered a factory. She then rented a two-room apartment and took the child to live with her, and she has continued these arrangements ever since. Before Meta was old enough to go to school Bernice used to leave her at a day nursery or with neighbors during factory hours.

Although the work is seasonal Bernice has always been able to save enough during the busy season to last her through the periods of unemployment, but she has no savings. She is a pretty good housekeeper and always keeps her rooms neat. She and the child are fairly well dressed. She poses as a widow and uses the name of the child's father.

Meta is extremely bright. She is in the first half of the sixth grade at school, although she is only 10 years old. She reads a great deal and has a gift for recitation. She is healthy and attractive and is rather tall for her age. She does not know of her illegitimate birth. She believes that her father is dead. Bernice is well able to take care of her and to continue her education. She is very proud of Meta's ability.

The agency had contact with the case for 10 years continuously, giving friendly interest and advice; Bernice has never needed material assistance.

Polly and Sam.—Eleanor's case was referred to the social agency by an infant-welfare nurse who found that the baby, Sam, a few months old, was in bad physical condition on account of separation from his mother. Eleanor, an 18-year-old colored girl, was doing household work to pay the board of this baby and of her other child, a girl a year and a half old, also of illegitimate birth. It was hoped that the agency would be able to help get the father of the two children to contribute to their support, so that Eleanor could take employment that would enable her to give some care to the children. At this time she was living at her employer's house and could see the children only once a week. She had no relatives.

Eleanor's childhood had been spent in an institution for dependent children. She wrote an excellent letter, and she must have received at least elementary schooling at the institution. At the age of 15 she had been placed in the home of a colored man and wife who stood well in their community and who had given excellent references. While living with this couple Eleanor became pregnant by the husband, and the first baby, Polly, was born in the home. As soon as she was well Eleanor left the couple and took two rooms in the home of a reliable colored woman whom she could trust to take care of the baby. She then went to work in a factory. The father had contributed to the support of the child, as the mother could not earn enough without his help, and this dependence gave him some influence over her, but there was between them also considerable real affection. She had continued to associate with him and after about a year a second child, Sam, was born.

The father of the children had been well educated, and he was employed as a butler, making $35 a week besides extra money. His wife, to whom he had been married five years, also was employed. They owned a house in a neighborhood where the houses had been occupied formerly by white people of means. When he wrote to the agency he used excellent stationery; and he never failed to send an addressed, stamped envelope for a reply. He was 24 when the first child was born.

He made a feeble attempt to deny that he was the father of the second child, but Eleanor had proof so positive that when confronted with it he admitted the truth. He signed an agreement to pay $20 a month. If he had been single it is probable that he and Eleanor would have married.

The agency worker persuaded Eleanor and the man to break off their association. The wife, who frequently brought the payments for the children to the office of the agency, also exerted her influence to keep the man away from Eleanor.

Eleanor gave up domestic work and obtained a position in a restaurant, so that she could be with the children at night as well as some portion of the day.

Four years ago Eleanor took the two children to a city at some distance, where she had found work. In a recent letter from her to the agency worker she said that she is now employed in a hotel and that she lives near it, so that she can see the children during the day. She inclosed in the letter a picture of the children. Polly is now a tall and slender child of 8 years. Sam is head and shoulders taller than his sister, though about a year younger. The girl had been healthy always, and the boy has improved in health. So far as is known, the children do not know their father. Eleanor wrote of her gratitude to the agency and expressed the hope that she would never lose her friend, the agency worker.

Eleanor's efforts in caring for the children have been commendable. She has worked hard that they might have proper food and clothing. With her affection for their father it is not surprising that she loved and kept the children.

The agency has had continuous contact with the case for nine years.

CHILDREN IN BOARDING HOMES

Boarding homes are coming into use more and more for children who must be provided for away from relatives. The agencies that had given serious attention to procuring suitable boarding homes for children of unmarried mothers found this a very satisfactory way of providing for children, especially those who presented behavior difficulties or other serious problems. Some children were placed in boarding homes with their mothers, others without them. In both types of placement the relation between the child and the foster family frequently resulted in satisfactory contacts for the child in the community and gave promise of similar good results in the future.

In the life of Margaret, whose story follows, the influence of the boarding mother was the main factor. In the case of Anne (p. 75) it would seem to be companionship with her mother that had the greatest influence on the little girl. The story of Anne also gives some indication of the helpful guidance and assistance that an agency worker maintained throughout the life of the child.

The mother who places her child in a boarding home and lives in the home where she is employed or elsewhere may be able to live her own life without acknowledging relationship to the child. The story of Mary (p. 78) illustrates this situation.

Margaret.—Alice, the oldest daughter in a large family living in a small industrial community, was only 13 when her mother was sent to a hospital for the insane, where she remained permanently. Alice's father was a capable workman, but he drank and was often abusive to his children. As soon as the girl was 14, after a few months in high school, she went to work in a local factory. She earned good wages, but when she was 16 her father, tired of incompetent housekeepers, kept her at home to run the house. Honest, warm-hearted, craving friendship, but crude in manner and grotesque in dress, she had no desirable girl friends. Her two nearest neighbors were women of ill repute. Associating with them, she began hanging around the train yards and going to dance halls. She had sex experience with more than one man. She was only 17 when her child, Margaret, was born. A county agency had referred the case to the agency that contributed the history, because Alice's family, though willing to receive her back into the home, did not want the baby.

The baby's father lived with his thrifty parents in a neighboring town. He was known as a fancy dancer and at the time of the baby's birth seemed to have no other occupation. Later he became a streetcar conductor. He was not strong and was predisposed to tuberculosis. He had disappeared before the birth of the child, but with the cooperation of public officials he was found and brought to court. He was adjudged the father of the child and was ordered to pay $3 per week toward her support.

Alice refused to give up her child but was incapable of making any plan for herself and gladly consented to let the agency try to find a place for them. With the idea that the mother could be taught domestic work and placed in a household with her baby, the agency boarded them both with a keen, forceful, kindly woman, Mrs. M. It soon appeared that Alice, though willing and good-tempered, was unequal to the double task of caring for the baby and working.

Feeling that she needed the protection and influence of good family life the agency worker decided to let her try a housework place alone (even though this involved the baby's being boarded separately for a time), hoping that with experience and further training Alice would later be able to have the baby with her. Mrs. M. continued to board the baby, and the mother visited the boarding home frequently. After Alice had made two unsuccessful attempts at housework during a period of eight months, the agency persuaded Mrs. M. to take her back as a permanent boarder, so that she could work during the day and live with her child.

Work was found for her in a near-by factory, the agency supplementing her wages so that she could pay the expenses of herself and the child. The fact that she had a child became known to her foreman. He promoted her to a department paying higher wages but made improper advances to her. She repulsed him; he then demoted her and told her story to others. As a result the situation became so unpleasant that she was obliged to leave. She next got work in a large factory in another part of the city and has worked there ever since. She soon earned enough to meet most of her own expenses and the baby's. During the World War, for a time, she earned more than $30 a week. At present her wages are from $16 to $30 a week, according to the pressure of work. For two years she has been practically self-supporting, the agency helping out occasionally in slack times.

Mrs. M. has doubled her rate of board, keeping pace with the increased cost of living and with Alice's increased earnings. In spite of this, Alice could easily be altogether self-supporting if she could ever be taught foresight and self-restraint in her expenditures. Perhaps the fact that the agency is behind her tends to make her slow to acquire these virtues. But it must be remembered she has learned much. For instance, at first she would take no care of her own clothes and would appropriate Mrs. M.'s garments, whereas she now makes most of her own and her little daughter's clothing.

Some years ago Alice was given a mental examination and rated as "subnormal." She is almost entirely lacking in ability to plan; this accounts for the fact that she can not do housework efficiently, though she is successful in performing a routine task at the factory. She also seems to have difficulty in grasping abstract ideas. Her thriftlessness arises largely from her inability to picture herself as facing future problems of sickness, unemployment, or old age.

Margaret is now 8 years old. She has been cared for by Mrs. M. practically ever since she and her mother were accepted by the agency. She is a shy, affectionate, clinging youngster. She has always called Mrs. M. "mother" and addresses her own mother by her first name. From the first Alice has taken care of her when she was not at work; she always dressed her in the morning and put her to bed at night.

Two or three years ago Mrs. M. told the little girl that she was not her mother. The child reflected; and then said, "Who is my mother, if you are not?"

"Who would you like to have for your mother?" questioned Mrs. M.

Another pause, then very slowly and thoughtfully: "I'd like Alice to be my mother."

"Well," said Mrs. M., "She is your own dear mother, but you must keep it as a secret between you and her, and never, never say a word about it to anyone else."

Since then the bond between mother and child has been closer than ever. Margaret has not yet questioned the absence of a father and is presumably unaware that any stigma might attach to her or her mother by reason of this absence. She can not be said therefore to know of her illegitimate birth.

Margaret has a good mind, is very observant, does satisfactory work in school, and loves to read. She appears to be well liked by other children. The little daughter of a very respectable neighbor has been for a long time her chosen chum and playmate. She is invited to children's parties given in the neighborhood.

She has been from the first a delicate child but under medical supervision is outgrowing a tubercular tendency as well as some kidney and nutritional difficulties.

Alice's status as an unmarried mother is quite generally known in her community. She associates almost entirely with another girl in like circumstances, who, with her child, has been boarding with Mrs. M. for three years. From the fact that neither girl has any intimate friends at the factory where they both work it seems as if their status is known there also. They go to the movies together and usually go to one of the out-of-town dance halls on Saturday nights. This gives them a chance to meet men who do not know their background. The other girl has a good many fleeting love affairs, but Alice does not. They attend church regularly but do not seem to come in touch with any of the church groups.

Alice is unswerving in her devotion to Margaret. She has a vast contempt for any mother who consents to give up her child. She is very proud of the little girl and ambitious for her. Last year she persuaded the visitor from the social agency to let her buy a second-hand piano so that the child could have music lessons. Mrs. M. advanced the money, but so far Alice has refunded only $10.

This mother is now 26 years old, with no marriage prospect in view. There seems to be no reason why she and her little girl may not remain with Mrs. M. or in some similar home indefinitely. The agency will continue supervision and will see that Margaret goes through high school and is equipped to support herself.

Payments by the father of Margaret have been most irregular, partly because of the man's ill health and partly because of the negligence of the probation officer. The father has never communicated directly with either the mother or the child, but three or four years ago he induced the probation officer to suggest to the agency that the mother be asked to give up Margaret for adoption, as this would end his obligation.

The agency has had continuous contact with the case for almost nine years.

Anne.—When Anne was 2 years old her mother, Irma, applied to the agency for help in finding a position where she could keep the child with her. Before applying to the agency Irma had been employed in a child-caring institution, where she had worked for almost two years at a low salary, keeping the child with her. Because the superintendent wished Anne to go to the institution's summer home

while the mother remained at her work, the mother decided to make a change and consulted a nurse in the hospital where Anne was born. This nurse referred her to the agency that contributed the case to the study.

Irma told the agency worker that she was 18 years old when she became pregnant, that she was the daughter of a family of means and refinement, that her father had died some years before, and that she and her mother had been supported by her two brothers. She said that she had completed the course in a private school with a view to entering college, and that she and the father of her child had grown up together, their families being friends. She seemed to be of more than average intelligence. She said that she had never held any position before the child's birth.

By arrangement of the man responsible for her pregnancy, Irma had left her home city to keep from her family the knowledge of it. She entered a general hospital, where a private room was provided by the man. At this time she intended to give up the baby. When the baby was born, however, Irma wished to see her, and she immediately decided that she would nurse the child while in the hospital. After three weeks she was unwilling to give the baby up.

Irma told the agency worker that she had written her mother after Anne's birth, telling about the child, and that her letter had not been acknowledged. She was unwilling that any further attempt be made to interest her relatives.

The father of Anne was a college student of 20 when the child was born. His family was a well-known one in his community—cultured, though of moderate means. He had not been employed except during summer vacations. He was unmarried, and he made his home with his mother and stepfather, his father being dead. Until Anne was nearly 2 years old he came at intervals to the institution to see her and her mother. He had given financial assistance in small amounts, but there had been no question of any formal arrangement for the child's support. With the completion of his college course, four months before the mother and child became known to the agency, the father's visits had ceased, and the mother had not heard from him since then.

Anne and her mother were boarded by the agency until employment was procured for the mother. The position found for her was in a business house where the salary was adequate to support herself and the child. She was unable to hold it because of inability to meet the public. She had little initiative; and her long residence in the institution, practically in seclusion, had emphasized her naturally retiring manner. Her second position was as a factory operator, her own choice. After she had been for a time at this work, where she made fair wages, the agency helped her to obtain work in a department store where salesmanship was taught. She was successful there and during eight years held positions in two stores, reaching a maximum salary of $25 a week. The mother and child always lived together.

After several months of acquaintance with the agency worker the mother gave the name and address of her family. A personal letter addressed to her mother by the worker, without telling her the actual circumstances and with no mention of the child, was not

answered and was not returned. Another attempt to locate the family at this address failed.

The father was found by the agency to be teaching in a high-grade private school. He agreed in a letter to contribute $3 a week for Anne's support, but he would not bind himself as to the length of time this help would be provided. (He could not have been compelled to do anything, because of statutory limitations as to the time within which court action can be brought.) He has voluntarily increased this amount twice and at the time the history was written was paying $25 per month. Verbally he has admitted paternity and has stated that he expected to continue the payments until the child's education is completed, if possible—at least until she has finished high school. His payments are made through the agency.

Though the father had correspondence with the office he was not personally known to the agency worker until the child was more than 6 years old. At this time he told the worker a story of his association with Irma which differed from the one that had been given by her. He said that they had made a chance acquaintance while they were both employed at a summer resort. Irma was a special maid in a very wealthy family. She had told him nothing about her people. He was sure that she was a good girl and that her association with him had been her first one of this kind.

The father came to see Anne and her mother in their boarding homes several times. When the child was 3 years old the father offered to marry Irma as a means of reparation for the injury he had done her and the child. His reason for not taking this action earlier was his financial inability to support them. When his offer came Irma knew that he loved another girl, whom he desired to marry, and she refused the offer. (He married this girl four years later.) The last time he came to see the mother and child was when Anne was 4 years old. On this occasion he either told the child that he was her father or in some way gave her to understand his relationship to her. Some months later Anne mentioned her father to her mother, who had always taught the child that her father was dead.

The mother continued her plan of working in the store and living with Anne until the child was 12. The mother then decided that they should move to another city in order to guard against Anne's meeting any one who might know her history. They were seen a few months later by the friendly visitor from the agency, who has retained contact with them. Anne was living away from her mother, who wished the child to have the physical benefit of a suburban home. This change enabled the mother to do better financially, too, as she could live at her place of employment, a hospital, where she had a clerical position.

When seen by the agency worker, Anne was obviously disturbed. Speaking of her father, the child became excited and repeated several stories that different persons had told her about him. Finally, she demanded to know the truth. The worker felt that she should not do or say anything that would undermine the child's trust in her mother, as Irma had made great sacrifices for the child and had trained her carefully, and the relation between them had always been one of perfect confidence, affection, and harmony. The worker,

therefore, merely tried to quiet the child and referred her to her mother, who, the child admitted, had never failed her.

However, Anne did not express her doubts and fears to her mother, who when told about the incident, seemed not to appreciate its seriousness. Her faith in her influence with Anne was strong. She believed that the child, who is highly imaginative, had been lonely because of living away from her for the first time and that she had magnified the importance of that last visit from her father, when she had gained the knowledge of his true relation to her.

Anne is a beautiful girl. She is athletic, strong, and intelligent. Now, at 14, she is in high school. Her fondness for reading has made necessary careful guidance in her choice of books. This direction has been supplied by the friendly visitor from the agency and by the pastor of her church. She has shown talent in music and has progressed under a competent teacher.

The mother has always assumed the status of a widow. When she moved to the city where she now lives she very unwisely began to use the name of Anne's father, though she had previously used her own. This change probably had contributed to Anne's disturbance. When last seen, a year ago, the child was much improved, but she showed something of the strain evident during the preceding summer. They were still living in the same way. Anne in a suburban home and her mother at the hospital where she worked.

Though the mother had intended to live with Anne again she has not done so up to now, as she has not been able to get a position in this city with so good a salary as she had received in the other city. Besides, she no longer has friends of the type she had made through years of residence in one place with the assistance of the agency. Though a similar relation with an agency could be made for her in the city where she now resides, the mother is unwilling that her history be known to any of her new acquaintances.

The outlook for Anne is not entirely favorable at this time. If her mother will arrange soon for the child to live with her again, the prospect will be better. That Anne will continue to have good care and opportunity for education is assured, for the agency will see to this if necessary. The problem now appears to be a mental one. Though Anne has not talked of her father, so far as her mother knows, since that day two years ago when she questioned the friendly visitor, it is the opinion of this friend that her mind is not at ease and that it is only a question of time when her mother will be forced to answer the child's question to her satisfaction.

The agency has had continuous contact with the case for 12 years.

Mary.—Thelma was a schoolgirl of 15, with a baby, Mary, 2 weeks old, who was referred to the agency by a hospital, on her discharge from the maternity ward. She was the daughter of a man who kept a small secondhand furniture shop. Her mother was in ill health and had been in the hospital several times. A brother of 18, who helped in the store, and two sisters, aged 17 and 12, completed the family. Thelma's mother was too ill to care for the children, and the general conditions of the home were very undesirable.

On admission to the hospital Thelma had said that a boy in the neighborhood was responsible for her child. Several months later she revealed the fact that her brother, 18 years old, was the father.

The young mother was ambitious and energetic, and of excellent ability. She was in the seventh year of the elementary school, having failed of promotion twice on account of irregular attendance due to her mother's ill health. She was trustful, imaginative, and temperamental.

Thelma's brother was examined mentally and found to be retarded. Upon the advice of the psychiatrist he was placed under the supervision of a "Big Brother." It was advised that he continue to stay at home to help his father in the store and that the girl be placed away from home. It was felt that she would benefit greatly by a different environment. Upon the discharge of the mother and child from the maternity home, after 14 months' stay there, the child, Mary, was placed in a boarding home; and the mother entered a household as nursemaid, expecting to attend evening school. Her employer found it impossible to carry out this plan, so Thelma was placed in another position, where she remained for more than a year, attending evening high school. Later, she worked for several months in a day nursery. When Mary was 3 the mother was given an opportunity to work in the laboratory of a large electrical plant; she has remained there five years. Her wages were $12 a week at the beginning, and she has gradually been advanced to $32 a week. She has saved $1,000, which she is keeping for the education of Mary, to whom she is devoted.

Thelma has been living away from home and has had continuous contact with the child, who has been in a boarding home.

The mother's progress in her work and her general mental development have been remarkable. From a girl with little education and training she has developed into a fine young woman, intelligent and well trained. Physically also she has developed, and she has a great deal of charm. She is of a studious type and reads a good deal. In one of her letters, written while she was still at evening high school, she said: "I find chemistry and biology very, very interesting, and we are doing a great deal of experimental work. * * * School has closed for the season, but I have not lost the opportunity of making friends with a number of interesting girls in the chemistry class, with whom I attend lectures."

She has completed 15 semester hours of high-school work and has also taken a course in shorthand.

The child, Mary, is in the third grade of the elementary school. She had to repeat the first grade, as she found difficulty in adjusting herself to the school environment. However, her teachers have reported that she has since shown marked improvement and that she is generally intelligent. She is rather tall for her age.

Thelma's parents have left the city and are living on a little farm. They have expressed a desire to take Mary home, but so far the agency has considered this plan inadvisable. The brother has married. The general tone of the home has improved, with the brother away and the removal of the family to the country. Thelma sees her brother occasionally but considers the whole episode so much behind her that she can hardly believe that it happened at all. He never sees the child, though he continues to contribute a small sum toward her support.

Thelma's true status is not known in the community. She visits Mary in the boarding home and is generally known as her sister.

However, the child knows that Thelma is her mother. Because of Thelma's youthful appearance the child got into the habit of calling her by her given name. Thelma's friends take it as a matter of course that she should have assumed the responsibility of caring for her little sister because of her mother's continued ill health. It is obvious that as the child grows older the situation will become more complicated. She does not know of her illegitimate birth but is under the impression that her father is dead.

The agency has had continuous contact with the case for nine years.

Arline.—Norma's child, Arline, was 6 years old when the social-service department of a hospital referred the case to the agency (a child-placing organization). The mother was receiving treatment for gonorrhea, and as she and the child were living in one room it was thought advisable to separate them temporarily. Some time before, the child had become infected but had been treated and discharged by the doctor.

After the birth of the child Norma had moved from the city where she had been living. She had found it easy to do this as she had no family ties, and, working as a maid in families, she knew she could find a position readily in the new city. At first she had boarded the child in various families, but for the past two years had kept her in the household where she worked. She passed as a widow.

Norma had been born in Europe and had been in the United States seven years, having come here at the age of 21. Her child was born a year after she came to this country. Her relatives were all in the old country, except some aunts, who lived in a near-by State, and none of them knew of the existence of the child.

Norma had had little schooling in her native country, and in the seven years she had been in this country she had not learned much English.

The father of the child was a man whom Norma had met at a public dance. She had gone to the dance escorted, but her escort had refused to stay to the end of the dance, whereupon Norma picked up the man who became the father of her child. At that time he was an attendant at a State hospital. She never had any thought of marrying him, as in her own words he was "no good." He was shiftless and a drunkard and never held a job long, depending on his family to find him work when he wanted it. He had been for a short time in the Army, but he had tired of it and had persuaded his family to get him discharged. He never knew of the existence of the child. Norma put the blame for her trouble on the man who had left her alone at the dance. (She did not tell the agency worker of these circumstances till a number of years later.)

The agency suggested placing Arline in a foster home. Norma disliked the idea at first, as she did not wish to be separated from her daughter, but she consented to the placement as a temporary plan and agreed to pay $2 a week toward the child's support. Arline was then placed in a household where the family consisted of a Mr. and Mrs. Miller and their son, four years younger than Arline. For 12 years Arline has remained in this home and has been happy there. The Millers have brought up Arline as if she were their daughter, and she and their son have been like brother and sister.

Mrs. Miller is a woman of unusually strong character, with a good understanding of girls. A number of young women make their home with the Millers, and a few girls needing temporary care are also accepted. There is much social life in the home—dancing and parties—and a strong church connection. One of the family parties was a celebration of Arline's eighteenth birthday. Mr. Miller is a music teacher, and the son leads his school orchestra, so that the household has a musical atmosphere.

Arline has plodded along through school, with much home encouragement. She is not very bright, although she gives the impression of brightness. At 19 she is only a junior in high school. Her health has been excellent, in spite of her early infection. She is sweet-tempered, modest, and tractable. Her manner is refined and her appearance attractive. When she was younger she was an active girl scout, holding responsible positions. She is popular with girls but has little interest in boys. She looks about three years younger than she is, and Mrs. Miller is glad of this, as it makes her school retardation less noticeable. Arline is firmly established in her foster home, and her future seems assured.

Norma has kept in touch with Arline all these years, contributing regularly to her board. For the past two years she has provided most of her clothing. Except for two years when she worked in another State she has visited her regularly every two weeks. She takes pride in Arline and has introduced her to the people with whom she works.

Arline does not know that she is of illegitimate birth. She is not imaginative nor critical, and she accepts her circumstances without asking why she lives in the foster home instead of with her mother, or any other questions. Last summer Norma made a visit to her people in Europe, and as she is known to them as "Miss," and to her associates here as "Mrs." the foster mother handled her affairs, addressing Arline's letters for her. It seems as though this deception would be impossible with most girls of 18.

Norma has continued in low-paid work; for years she has been a waitress. Caution or lack of ambition made her refuse a war-time position at $42 a week on the ground that she would be thrown out of work when the war was over. At one time she changed jobs rather frequently but for some time now has remained in one place. There is some question as to the morality of the life she led during the two years that she was working in another State. She now has occasional men acquaintances but does not care to have close friends—men or women. Except for Arline she is quite alone. Her responsibility for her daughter has been a steadying influence. Mrs. Miller has done real social work for Norma, guiding her and advising her as though she were one of her older girls. At times Norma has talked of taking Arline, but Mrs. Miller has always been able to dissuade her.

The agency has had continuous contact with the case for 12 years.

CHILDREN IN HOMES OF MOTHERS' EMPLOYERS (DOMESTIC SERVICE)

Although living with the mother in a domestic position does not always afford the best opportunities for the child, there were many instances of mother and child living in an employer's home in which

both seemed happily placed. Placement at domestic service was the first plan for a large number of the mothers. For many it was a temporary situation, the mothers later obtaining other forms of work. Eight mothers remained continuously in domestic service up to the time of the last information, keeping their children with them; and a few others remained in domestic-service homes for several years, until they were able to establish their own homes. The interest and assistance of the mothers' employers were responsible for the satisfactory adjustment of some of these mothers and children. This is most happily shown in the following stories of Kenneth and Babette.

Kenneth.—Myrtle, Kenneth's mother, was referred to the agency by a maternity home in another city to which she had gone during pregnancy.

When referred Myrtle was 18 years old; and the baby, Kenneth, was a few months old. She was without funds; and her two sisters, one married and one single, who were living in the city to which she had gone for maternity care, were either unable or unwilling to assist her. They were not unkind to her, but they wished to force the child's father to provide for him and the mother.

This girl's parents had died when she was a small child; and she and her sisters had been cared for by neighbors, each child being informally accepted by a different family, with no person or organization responsible for them.

Though living with different families, the three sisters were in the same neighborhood, and they grew up in fairly close association. When their foster families moved away from this place the sisters continued in communication with one another, though they lived in different cities.

Myrtle had been sent to the country school in the vicinity, where she received little more than a rudimentary education. She had never been employed except to assist generally with the work in her foster home, where she had been treated as a member of the family. No regular wages were paid her.

The father of the child was the foster father in whose home Myrtle had lived for the 10 years since her parents' death. He was married and living with his wife; there were no children of the marriage. After working on his farm for some years he moved to the city and procured well-paid employment. He was of average intelligence in the judgment of the agency worker. Myrtle said that her first association with him had been by force.

Myrtle had no plan except that she intended to keep her child and to compel his father to support him. The factor that influenced her to keep her boy was her love for him. Her decision to do this appears to have been entirely spontaneous, though the fact that the agency which assisted her during her pregnancy and after the child's birth had a policy of insisting on breast feeding may have had some effect.

When approached by the agency worker the man denied absolutely the charge of paternity. When confronted by the mother he changed his attitude and expressed willingness to enter into an agreement for a settlement. After offering a small sum he advanced the amount to $500. The girl preferred taking this amount to running the risk of having to go to court.

As Myrtle was nursing the baby and as she was not trained to do any work except domestic work, she was placed with a family. This placement was unsuccessful, because the employer did not make suitable arrangements for the baby; and after a few months Myrtle left and took the baby to the maternity home where both had been cared for after their arrival in the city. She spent some time there under medical care. She later went to work for another family, the Robinsons, people of culture, who lived on a farm.

She and Kenneth have been in this home for seven years. Myrtle has always liked to live in the country. She and Kenneth have had much the status of members of the family, and his playmates have been the children of the family. Kenneth is a strong, active boy. His progress in the public school has been normal.

Myrtle's wages have not been very high, but she values the advantages that she and Kenneth have in this home. Together she and Mrs. Robinson read the Sunday newspaper advertisements, and together they visit the city to shop wisely and economically. The greatest care has been given to the health of both mother and child, and personal hygiene has been an important part of Kenneth's training.

Although Myrtle has always been in correspondence with her sisters, the relation between her and them is not one of intimacy or deep affection. The only time they have shown much interest in her or Kenneth was when she came into a legacy of approximately $400 from her grandmother. The grandmother had died when the sisters were small, but the estate had been involved, and this settlement was to be made when the youngest of the children had reached a certain age. At this time the sisters insisted that Kenneth and his mother come to live with them, but Myrtle refused to leave the Robinsons' home.

During the World War the mother wished to invest all her money in Liberty bonds. It was explained to her that she could not invest Kenneth's money, as it constituted a trust fund to be drawn on for his care. She then invested $300 of her legacy in Liberty bonds. Some of these have matured: the others have been sold, and the entire $300 invested in a first mortgage. The initiative for this second investment came from the mother herself, no doubt aided by her employer, and the agency assisted her in the transaction. Most of Kenneth's money has been spent.

Kenneth and his mother are definitely a part of the home life of the Robinson family and of their community. Myrtle has always used her own surname and has used the title of "Mrs." since she came to her present home. She wears a wedding ring and assumes the status of a widow. Only her employers know the truth.

Kenneth believes that his father died when he was a baby. He has been singularly incurious. The mother, being of a simple nature, expects no trouble in the future. The social protection of residence with the Robinsons means much to them both. As usually happens the community has followed the attitude of the family that accepted them; and Kenneth and his mother are received without question in the church and the Sunday school and in other community activities. As the mother has quiet tastes and is satisfied with the wholesome family life on the farm, asking little diversion, her problems are

simplified. To give Kenneth every possible advantage is her one and only plan. She looks forward to the time when he will be a valued assistant on this farm and to the time when he may own his own farm. The child's joy in all the elements of farm life inclines one to believe that the mother's hope will be fulfilled. Both are happy and their relation with the Robinsons and with the agency offers a safe prospect for care and guidance if it is needed at any time in the future.

Kenneth's father paid the sum agreed upon, in installments to the agency, and neither he nor his wife has had any further contact with Kenneth or the mother.

The agency has had continuous contact with the case for seven years.

Babette.—A private maternity home to which Edwina, Babette's mother, had applied for confinement care had referred her case to a public agency because she had gonorrhea. Edwina had come from Canada two years before, at the age of 25. At home she had been employed as a nursemaid and she had come to the United States for better wages. She had done housework and also had worked for a year in a restaurant in a large railroad station. She was a good worker and apparently was well thought of by those who knew her.

Edwina's parents and two married sisters were living on a farm in Canada. A third married sister, who had a child, lived in the United States near the Canadian border. The agency found this sister intelligent and cooperative. She said that Edwina had never been troublesome but that she had admitted having had sex relations at home once with a former fiancé. She had gone to church regularly and she had attended a district school until she was 13. She spoke and wrote well.

The father of the child was a locomotive engineer two years younger than Edwina. He was born and reared near the mother's home and his family and Edwina's were known to each other. He had come to the United States before Edwina and had lived with an aunt in a suburb where Edwina visited. He was single when the child was conceived, but soon afterwards he became engaged to marry another girl and told Edwina of the engagement. When the baby was 2 months old he married, his wife knowing of the child. Brought to court, he was adjudged the father of the child and ordered to pay $10 a month.

After Babette was born Edwina was anxious to work to support herself and the child; she wanted no help. When Babette was 2 months old the agency placed Edwina at domestic service in a household where she kept the baby with her. They stayed nearly two years in this first place, an ordinary country home. Treatment for gonorrhea was continued until Edwina was well. She then went with her child to her parents' home, where they remained three months. Returning to her married sister in this country, Edwina obtained an excellent position as housekeeper in the suburbs with a Mr. and Mrs. Smith. She is still there, keeping Babette with her. Every two years they visit her home for a month. At home all know the paternity of the child. During her father's last illness Edwina went home to assist her mother.

Babette, now 12 years old, is very attractive—tall and slender, with lovely color and eyes—much loved by all her relatives. She is dressed simply and prettily; her mother makes all her clothes. She is in the sixth grade at school, where she does well; and she is given music and dancing lessons through the generosity of the Smiths, who are fond of her and consider her a member of the family.

Edwina has no friends in the neighborhood where she works; but she visits her married sister's home regularly, and she is always welcome. She has never worn a wedding ring, but the Smiths have always spoken of her as a widow. She has always been a quiet, unassuming person, with a great deal of determination when necessary. The child's status has never been known in school, and she has been considerably protected by the Smiths' social position. She believes that her father went away before her birth and never returned. The present situation is ideal for Babette, who will be given every opportunity for education by her mother and by the Smiths. Edwina is very wise in her care of the child, never permitting her to be spoiled by too much attention or too many privileges. She wants her daughter to have a happy life in school, and takes her frequently to the married sister's home so that Babette can enjoy the companionship of cousins. These relatives always go with Babette and her mother to visit the old home in Canada.

Edwina has never had any attention from men since the birth of the child. Her whole life is centered on her daughter, and she seems happy.

The father of Babette is still paying $10 a month toward her support, although the payments are much in arrears.

The agency has had continuous contact with the case for 12 years.

CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS

Thirteen of the children included in this study had lived in institutions continuously up to the time of the study or until they were able to go to work. 10 of these children having been under the care of one agency. In all these cases the mothers were employed in the institutions. All these children were transferred to another institution when they were of school age, with the exception of one child who remained continuously with his mother in the institution where he was first placed.

In addition to this group a number of other children were in institutions without their mothers at the time that the study was made. A few children were in institutions for mental defectives, and several were receiving temporary care in institutions for such reasons as the mother's death or her inability to support or care for the child.

Walter was one of the group of children whose mothers were unable to provide for continuous care in a family home. He was cared for in an institution for a number of years. The great affection of Walter's mother for him and her desire to give him as much personal care as possible have helped to avoid some of the usual disadvantages of institutional life. One point illustrated by this story, which follows, is the development of the mother herself, which was apparently the result of her retaining custody of the child.

Lack of physical vitality and a limited mentality were the reasons for placing Lottie (p. 88) in a child-caring institution. The long-continued ill health of this mother has made it necessary for Lottie to be under the care of agencies during most of her life.

Walter.—A municipal hospital that had been giving prenatal care to Jane, a domestic worker of 40, referred her to the agency. She was pregnant for the fourth time. She was without funds, and she had no relatives except her father, who was very old. Because of her father's age it was impossible for him to help her, and she was unwilling that he should know about her coming child. (He died soon after the baby was born.) Jane's plan was to dispose of the baby as soon as possible, and she expressed no choice as to whether he should be placed in a family or in an institution. Her three other children had been separated from her; two had been placed in an institution and one in a family home, and she had had no contact with any of them after placement. She had been assisted in making these placements by the hospitals in which she had been delivered.

No information is available on the status and character of Jane's family. Her letters indicate that she had meager education, probably not beyond the fourth or fifth grade. In personal appearance she was unattractive, though her clothing was neat. A speech defect and a peculiar halting gait, due to slight infirmity in one leg, gave an unfavorable impression. She had a record of satisfactory work in domestic service, always in homes of the plainer type, at low wages.

The father of the child was a married man, somewhat older than Jane, who lived with his wife in the neighborhood where Jane was in domestic service. It was not known whether he had any children by his marriage. He seemed to be a rather high-grade, intelligent mechanical worker; he earned fair wages. He did not attempt to deny paternity. He was anxious to conceal the affair from his wife, and he readily agreed to contribute to the child's support. As he was married it was deemed best for him to make a settlement, paid as quickly as possible, rather than to make continuing payments, as the latter plan would have encouraged his further association with the mother and the child. The amount agreed on was approximately $300. The money was placed in a trust fund, under supervision of the agency, for the child's care.

The utmost persuasion was required to induce Jane to nurse her baby. The municipal hospital cooperated with the agency in insisting on breast feeding. As Jane had no money she was dependent on the hospital and the agency and was therefore influenced by them. If she had not been in a hospital where breast feeding was insisted on, this child, Walter, like her three others, would have been placed as a foundling; in fact, she made attempts to do so. After several months of care in the hospital she was no longer determined to give up Walter, though she was not particularly devoted to him. On discharge from the hospital the mother and baby were placed in a maternity home. After several months there Jane was placed in a domestic position in the country, taking Walter with her. This long delay before placing was deemed necessary in order to insure the baby's receiving proper care. By the time the placement was made the mother's affection for him gave favorable indications of a con-

tinuance of good care. It was not long before her letters to the agency showed genuine love for the child. The agency continued to supervise the arrangement, and the worker felt sure that Walter was receiving good care. Much interest was taken in the child by the family with whom he and his mother lived.

In the absence of the original record (it was destroyed in a fire) it is not possible to tell definitely of Jane's employment record. It is known that she continued to do domestic work, having Walter with her, until he was between 4 and 5 years old. Whenever she could not keep him with her the agency placed Walter in a boarding home. While he was in one of these boarding homes his actions caused the agency to arrange for mental examination. The psychiatrist pronounced the child of normal mentality and recommended measures for improving his conduct. These were carried out effectively. The mother was not examined mentally, but the psychiatrist had several interviews with her and his opinion was that she was of normal mentality.

The mother had long since become so devoted to Walter that she wrote several letters to the agency expressing gratitude for the worker's efforts that had resulted in her keeping him. Although for some time it had been evident that the boy could not be given suitable training by the mother because of her limitations, her devotion to him kept the agency from making any plan for separating them, even for brief periods. Walter's godmother wanted to place him in a boy's school where he would have advantages, but Jane would not consent because it was not near enough for her to visit him frequently. Several other plans were submitted, only to be refused by her.

Walter believed that his father was dead, and his mother had always represented herself as a widow, using her own name. Because the mother had had few contacts except with the families by whom she was employed the status that she had assumed was accepted.

When the child was about 5 years old the mother saw that she was unable to cope with certain problems in his training, and she consulted the agency about several plans that she was considering. She wished to place him in a superior child-caring institution. The difficulty in the way of this placement was that a child of illegitimate birth would not be accepted. She deceived the institution authorities as to the boy's status, and she succeeded in placing the child in the institution. He was boarded for one-fourth the usual rate, the mother supplying him with clothing. While living there he attended a public school and also went to church and Sunday school outside of the institution. Vacations away from the institution through the entire summer were provided for, and visits outside at other suitable times during the year.

After Walter had been accepted in the institution the mother procured a position with a family who left the city every summer. While the family was away she worked at a summer camp for children, keeping Walter with her. These arrangements continued for a number of years.

Walter remained in the child-caring institution until he was 13 years of age, when he completed the elementary-school grades. With the assistance of the agency he was then placed in a boarding school

for boys, an endowed institution with high standards of morale and scholarship. The superintendent was told of the boy's illegitimate birth, but the information was not communicated by him to the trustees, because it would have prevented his admission.

At the last information in the agency record Walter had been in this school almost a year. Recently it has been learned that he is still there. His progress in school has been normal, and his general development has been entirely satisfactory to all interested in him.

Jane has continued to do domestic work. The responsibility that she has carried for her son has been effective in developing her both from the standpoint of character and that of efficiency. When she first became known to the agency no one who had contact with her would have believed that she could ever progress to the point of planning for Walter as she has done and of earning the wages that she has earned. Gradually her wages have increased until they reached the average compensation for domestic service in the city in which she has been living.

Walter is believed to be of legitimate birth, and he believes so himself. All the money paid by his father was expended during the early years of his life. No material relief was given in this case except the concession of the first institution in caring for the child at a rate that his mother could pay. In the school that he entered later all the boys were on free scholarships on an equal footing.

The relation between the mother and the child has been continuously one of affection. It was feared that the mother's peculiar appearance and defective speech might make some difference with Walter, but there has been no evidence of this. It seems safe to assume that the boy's future is assured. There is a possibility of his learning the truth about his birth, but this seems remote.

The agency has had continuous contact with the case for 14 years.

Lottie.—Maritza, a 20-year-old domestic worker of foreign birth, with a 3 weeks' old baby, Lottie, applied for admission to a maternity home so that she might stay with her baby and nurse her. The girl looked overworked, and it seemed as though she had had no real childhood. She had been a domestic worker since she was 10 years old; she had left home at that age because she could not get along with her father.

The girl's family was unfriendly to her. An older sister was a domestic worker, and eight younger children were at home. The father of the family was a cloak presser, who barely made a living for his large family.

Maritza knew little English and could not read nor write.

The father of the child was a clothing operative whom Maritza had known for more than a year. He had promised to marry her, but he later disappeared.

Maritza and the baby remained in the maternity home until the nursing period was over. During her stay in the home she showed herself a very capable houseworker, dependable and kind-hearted. However, she did not get along well with her associates, as she was of an extremely nervous and worrisome temperament. Her parents continued to be unfriendly and never visited her at the home.

Upon her discharge from the home Maritza was placed in a domestic position, and the child, Lottie, was placed in a boarding home, the

mother paying her board. Before long the mother developed tuberculosis and soon was unable to continue to support the child, who was then committed to a public nursery and children's hospital. Later this institution placed Lottie in a boarding home.

For seven years Maritza continued to be in very poor physical condition, and at various times was a patient in hospitals, sanitariums, and convalescent homes. Several surgical operations were performed on her. When she was able Maritza worked in a special factory for tuberculous patients, conducted by a clinic. The agency helped her at various times by providing food, clothing, and other necessaries. Gradually her health improved. Maritza's family became somewhat reconciled with her, and she lived with them for short periods. However, they have never accepted Lottie. Maritza has always visited Lottie when she was able and has been very fond of her. None of the relatives outside the immediate family know of the child's existence.

Maritza is now living with her older sister, who is married. Repeated examinations have shown that she is free from tuberculosis. She is working in the special factory and is doing practical nursing at odd hours.

Two years ago Lottie was transferred to a child-caring institution. She is physically frail and mentally retarded, and at the age of 11 she is only in the third grade. She does not know that she is of illegitimate birth.

The agency has had contact with the case for 11 years.

ADDITIONAL FACTS REGARDING CHILDREN AND PARENTS

This section summarizes certain data in the 253 cases studied. The time for which the facts are given is indicated under the various headings.

THE CHILDREN

NUMBER AND SEX

The number of children of illegitimate birth 8 years of age and over whose mothers had kept their custody and about whom the 27 cooperating organizations could give sufficient definite information to be of value in this study was 253: 102 boys, 150 girls, and 1 whose sex was not reported. Two hundred and forty-one mothers were represented by these 253 children.

AGE AT LAST INFORMATION

The ages of the 253 children at the time of the last information as given in the histories ranged from 8 to 31 years. Seventy-five per cent of them were from 8 to 15 years of age and therefore of school age.

The ages of the children at the time of the last information are shown in the following list:

	Number of children		Number of children
8 years, under 10	71	16 years, under 18	20
10 years, under 12	66	18 years or over	42
12 years, under 14	36		
14 years, under 16	18	Total	253

TYPE OF HOME

At the time of last information 17 children were living in homes established by their parents, who had intermarried, 84 were living in step-parental homes, and 13 in homes established by the mothers. Twelve were living at their mothers' place of employment. Forty-two children, some of them with their mothers, were living in the homes of relatives. Twenty children were living independently: 9 of these married and living in their own homes, 4 living in the places where they were employed, and 7 rooming or boarding. Seven children were in foster homes, 32 in boarding homes, 23 in institutions, and 3 in boarding schools. Nearly two-thirds (159) of the total number of children were living with their mothers at this time.

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND MENTALITY

The outline for the histories called for information on the health, education, and mentality of the children. The majority of the histories contained some data on all three points.

Health.

In 155 of the 253 cases some statement was made as to the health of the child either at the time the history was written or in his earlier life. One hundred and thirty-two of these one hundred and fifty-five children were reported as having had generally good or fair health throughout their lives. Twenty of those included in this classification were not robust, but on the whole they had fairly good health.

The 23 children who were characterized as having poor health or some special physical defect included those who were frail and required special care. A few were nervous or anemic or had various disorders of the eye, ear, or throat. The children who were in poor health included 10 with venereal disease (with 5 of these the disease was congenital), one with tuberculosis, one with chorea, and one with infantile paralysis. The children in this group required more or less prolonged care, some of them hospital care.

Education.

In about three-fourths of the histories (187) some information was given on the child's educational opportunity and school progress. One hundred and fifty-two children had attended only elementary school, and for most of these the progress in school was noted; 118 of these children had made at least normal progress in school (some had made rapid progress), and 19 had been retarded from one to three years. In 15 histories the child's age was not given, so that his progress could not be estimated correctly. The retarded pupils had been hampered by ill health or mental defect, or, as was shown in one or two cases, by bad home conditions.

As a large proportion of the children were still attending school at the time of the last information it was not possible to report how much educational opportunity many of them would have. An encouraging number of references to special opportunity were noted. It seemed safe to assume that almost all the children still in elementary school would complete the eight grades and that a fair proportion would go to high school and perhaps have further opportunity.

A number had entered high school, most of whom had completed the course. Some of those who had completed the eight elementary grades had had the advantage of further training in trade schools or business schools, and several of those who had completed the high-school course had entered technical schools or nurses' training schools. Three had entered college, of whom one had completed the college course.

Instances were noted of children requiring special care who were given the advantage of the best service available. One history told of a child with defective eyes who had been placed in a special sight-saving class, by which arrangement he was making rapid progress. Some cases of apparent mental incapacity and of behavior difficulty likewise were carefully looked after. Several boarding mothers gave special attention to the school work of children in their care. One child entering school at 7 was placed in the third grade; this advancement was due to the preparation given by the boarding mother, who was a trained kindergarten teacher.

Mentality.

Some data in regard to mental ability were given for 175 children. In 147 of these cases the report was based on the opinion of the worker in contact with the case. The 28 children who were referred to psychiatrists were not merely those who were thought to be defective; a number who presented behavior difficulties or who were not making ordinary progress in their school work were so referred.

One hundred and sixty of the 175 children were reported to be normal mentally, and 15 to be below normal. Eighteen of those classed as normal and 10 of those classed as below normal had had special examination. Most of the children described as below normal had had the benefit of superior diagnostic service, and some of them had undergone a period of observation or study before diagnosis and recommendations were made. Two children were so obviously below normal as to be placed at once in an institution for mental defectives, and two others were so placed later. The others were given special care and supervision suited to their needs, in accordance with recommendations of the examining psyhiatrists.

A few of the children, though not definitely defective, were said to be "dull normal." Two were found to be of superior mentality; both of these had been referred to psychopathic clinics as the result of behavior difficulties, and arrangements had been made for them in accordance with recommendations of the clinics. Several other bright children developed behavior difficulties and were treated at child-guidance clinics.

One girl who had been under observation as a retarded child showed an encouraging reaction to proper care and supervision. The final examination when she was 19 gave this report: "Intelligence quotient, 80. Well poised, well adjusted, with initiative and ambition; insight above the average; better ability than her intelligence quotient represents."

A less encouraging case was that of a girl who at 12 was backward in her school work. On examination she was judged to have a mental age of 9. Care away from her mother was recommended. The mother, who had always held domestic positions, keeping this child

with her, was examined about this time. The report was: "Mental deterioration; intelligence quotient, 60; mental age, 9.8 years." Because of the mother's unwillingness to be separated from the child the recommendation of the psychiatrist was not carried out. At 16 the girl was living with her mother in a domestic position and attending school. She was dissatisfied and was ashamed of her mother's position.

Some of these histories indicated that excellent case work had been done in the endeavor to make suitable adjustments for certain problem children. It is probable that some of these children would have been deprived of opportunities for development had not their mothers and other persons in charge of them been able to turn for advice to workers who knew the facts in regard to their birth. This eliminated the fear of discovery ever present with some of these mothers and the embarrassment that might have been encountered in approaching others for advice.

OCCUPATION AT LAST INFORMATION

Seven of the 44 girls who were 16 and over were still in school at the time of last information, and 2 had just finished high school and were looking for employment. Three girls were in nurses' training classes in good hospitals, and one rather backward girl intended to train to be a practical nurse or a child's nurse. Seven girls were married and had established their own homes. Two girls were in institutions, and one was about to enter an institution. Ten girls were employed; those for whom the occupation was reported were in clerical or business positions or working in factories. Their weekly earnings ranged from $12 for a girl who was a candy dipper to $50 for a woman 30 years old who was a secretary. Eleven girls who were living in the homes of their parents or grandparents or foster parents had no positions outside of the home.

A report as to occupation was obtained for 9 of the 18 boys who were 16 years of age or over. Only 2 of these boys were attending school. One boy was in an institution; 1 was in business for himself; 1 had a technical position with a public-utility concern; 1 was employed in a bank, 1 in a store, 1 on a farm, and 1 was doing upholstering and interior decorating.

THE MOTHERS

RACE AND NATIVITY

All but 9 of the 241 mothers of the children considered in the study were white. Eight were Negroes, and one was Chinese. Of the 215 white mothers whose country of birth was known 64 per cent (137) were born in the United States and 36 per cent elsewhere.

OTHER CHILDREN

Fifteen of the 241 mothers had living children of illegitimate birth other than those included in the study. The 23 children in this group, most of whom were born later than the 253 children considered in this study, were not included, as some of them were not in the care of relatives and others were under 8 years of age.

As the study was limited to children born out of wedlock legitimate children born to the mothers were not included formally in the study, though they were considered in some cases as a factor in the lives of the mothers and their children of illegitimate birth. Some of these legitimate children were born before the children included in the study and others later, a number of the mothers having married since they came to the attention of the agency reporting the case.

AGE AT BIRTH OF CHILD

For the purpose of the study the mother's age when the child was born was considered. In the cases where more than one child of illegitimate birth of the same mother was included in the study the age considered was that of the mother at the time of the birth of the youngest child.

The age of the mother at the time of the child's birth was reported in 208 of the histories. Of the mothers whose ages were known 5 per cent were under 16 years of age when the child was born (one mother was under 14 years, four were 14, and five were 15); 41 per cent were from 16 to 21; 31 per cent were from 21 to 25; and 23 per cent ranged from 25 to 41. In 33 cases the age of the mother was omitted.

MARITAL STATUS AT BIRTH OF CHILD

Nearly all the mothers (96 per cent) were unmarried at the birth of the child. Only 9 mothers had been married; 3 of these were widows, 1 was divorced, 1 had contracted a bigamous marriage, and the remaining 4 were separated from their husbands but not divorced. In one history the marital status of the mother was not stated.

OCCUPATION AT BEGINNING OF PREGNANCY

The occupation of the mother at the time her pregnancy began or before that time was stated in 168 of the histories. Twenty-nine of these mothers, five of whom were attending school, had no occupation and had been making their homes with their parents or other relatives. The majority of the women for whom an occupation was reported were doing some kind of unskilled work. Many of these mothers were engaged in general housework or in factory work—39 and 22 per cent, respectively, of those whose occupations were reported. Six per cent of the mothers were clerical workers, including a few stenographers. Seven per cent were waitresses in restaurants, 5 per cent were professional women, chiefly teachers and nurses. One woman had her own business. The remaining 21 per cent were employed as nursemaids, personal maids, attendants, day workers, saleswomen, dressmakers, and milliners.

HEALTH

Some information in regard to the mother's health was given in about three-fifths (148) of the 241 histories. It was indicated that 111 of these 148 mothers were in good or fairly good health. The histories stated that 6 mothers were physically handicapped (4 crippled, 1 mute, and 1 blind), and that 31 were in ill health, and in most of these the nature of the ill health was given. These 31

included 15 with venereal disease, 3 with tuberculosis, 5 with nervous complaints, and 8 who were merely described as in "poor health."

The information given can scarcely be taken as an indication of the general physical condition of the 241 mothers at the time when they were in the care of the organizations, because some years ago, at the time for which much of the information was given, it was not customary for institutions and social agencies to keep health records. The social case history is relatively new, and even now some agencies and institutions relegate practically all data on the physical condition of their clients to medical histories. By some agencies these are not filed in the same office with the social histories. The data reported, however, serve to indicate the need for general attention to the health of the unmarried mothers in addition to the special maternity care given them. The close connection between satisfactory convalescence for obstetrical patients and their general health is apparent.

MENTALITY

Application of the principles of psychology and psychiatry to the study of antisocial conduct is of such recent origin that one may not expect it in the cases of all the unmarried mothers cared for by any of the social agencies from which these histories were obtained, especially as some of the cases first came to the attention of the agencies many years ago. As it was desirable to get some idea of the general mentality of the mother of each child a statement was requested from each cooperating agency as to the mothers' mentality if a mental examination had been made, and, if a mental examination had not been made, a statement of the opinion of the worker in contact with the case.

It was possible to form some idea from the history as to the mental condition of the mother in 178 cases. As only 30 mothers had been given a mental examination, the reports for 148 mothers were based on the opinions of the workers. The records showed that workers in touch with these 148 mothers considered 120 of them to be of normal mentality, 7 "dull normal," 15 below normal (it was stated that the mother's lack of schooling was responsible for the apparently low mental capacity of 2 of these mothers), 2 were obviously feebleminded, 1 "seemed psychopathic," 1 was considered neurotic, and 2 became deranged mentally after the birth of the child. Of the 30 mothers examined by a psychiatrist, only 4 were pronounced normal; 21 were found to be mentally defective, 2 psychopathic, 2 erratic, and 1 insane, the insane mother having been examined when her child was 5 years old. The psychiatrist recommended institutional care for three of the mentally defective mothers and for the others care in the community under careful supervision.

EDUCATION

Information on the mothers' schooling was supplied in 152 of the histories. On the whole their educational opportunities had been limited. Six per cent were reported to be illiterate; 58 per cent had gone to an elementary school, but had not completed the eight grades; 28 per cent had completed the eight grades or had received an equivalent education; 8 per cent had entered high school, slightly more than

half of these having completed the full high-school course; and only 2 mothers had further education or special training after the completion of their high-school work. These data are shown in the following list:

	Number of mothers
Total	241
Total reported	152
More than high-school course	2
High-school course completed	7
High-school course begun but not completed	4
Elementary-school course completed	42
Elementary-school course begun but not completed	41
Seventh grade completed	9
Sixth grade completed	8
Fifth grade completed	7
Fourth grade completed	5
Elementary-school grade not reported	12
Grade not reported	47
"No education" or "illiterate"	9
Not reported	89

Several histories showed that the girl had left school to go to work as soon as she was old enough to be granted an employment certificate. Other girls left school only after they became pregnant, and a few had been taken from school because they could not make progress with their school work, presumably on account of mental defect. A small number had physical defects that made attendance at school impossible for them.

HOME AND LIVING CONDITIONS

When mothers became pregnant.

Information regarding the homes in which the mothers were living when they became pregnant was given in 163 of the 241 histories. Nearly two-thirds of the mothers for whom information was given were in the homes of one or both parents (72), of other relatives (27), or of foster parents with whom they had lived since childhood (5). About one-fourth (41) were living at their places of employment. The remainder (18) were in other types of homes, including boarding houses, rooming houses, or their own homes (10 had established homes with the fathers of their children).

Although some of the homes in which the mothers were part of the family group were marked by poverty, squalor, inefficiency, and a lack of the qualities essential to wholesome family life, the conditions surrounding most of the mothers did not appear to have been unusually adverse except for the fact that the great majority of the mothers had had meager educational and vocational opportunities. Many of the mothers apparently had had good homes where they had the affection of parents and other relatives. Those homes were often marked by a wholesome, fine spirit, and the close family ties that existed were shown in a number of cases in which the mother and her child were received into the family. This reaction to the mother's misconduct was not general, however, as is shown in the section of this report summarizing the attitude of the mother's relatives to the child. Some instances were noted of very young girls who had left their homes to go to work, uninformed and inadequately instructed

to meet life's problems. The information in most cases was not sufficient to indicate whether home conditions were responsible for the associations that brought these girls and women to the status of illegitimate motherhood. Some of the girls who were mentally defective had not had the protection and care made necessary by their incapacity, and some had not received the attention that they should have had from their parents.

The parents of 44 of the 241 mothers were not in the United States; in more than half these cases a brother, sister, or some other relative was living in this country. Of the 59 mothers not living with their parents or other relatives, 12 had no relatives in the United States, all being in other countries, and 13 had one or more relatives living in the United States, their parents remaining in the country of their nativity. Three mothers had no knowledge of any relatives; they had been placed in institutions in infancy or early childhood.

In only a small number of histories was it stated or indicated that the mother had been leading a life of immorality except for the association with the man who was the father of her child.

At time of last information.

At the time of the last information 119 mothers were married, 92 were single, 8 were widowed, 9 were separated, 3 were divorced, and 10 had died. Reference has been made to the fact that about one-third of the children were not with their mothers at the time of last information. For this reason the whereabouts of some of the mothers is not the same as the whereabouts of the children. One hundred and forty mothers were living in homes of their own (including 20 who had never married), 41 were living in their places of employment at domestic service—in families or in institutions such as child-caring homes, hospitals, maternity homes, and residence clubs for girls—29 in the homes of parents or other relatives, 4 in boarding homes; 2 were in hospitals for the insane; 10 had died; the type of residence of 15 was not reported.

THE FATHERS

The 253 children had 248 fathers, as 7 of the 241 mothers had 2 children by different fathers. In nearly two-fifths of the histories information was completely lacking in regard to the fathers. In a number of histories the data given were very meager, being limited to the statement of one or two facts such as age, race, occupation, marital status, or relationship to the mother.

RACE AND NATIVITY

Of the 118 men whose race and nativity were reported 94 per cent were white and 6 per cent were negroes. About three-fifths of the white men and all the negroes were born in the United States.

AGE AT BIRTH OF CHILD

Age at the time of the child's birth was reported for 95 fathers of the 248. A larger proportion of the fathers than of the mothers were in the higher age groups. Fifty-eight were 25 years of age or older. Twenty-six of this group were from 25 to 29, 20 from 30 to 38, and

12 were 40 years of age and over. The oldest man was 70. Twenty-nine of the men were from 20 to 25, and 8 men were under 20 years of age. The youngest was 17.

MARITAL STATUS AT BIRTH OF CHILD

Ninety-two of the 124 fathers whose marital status was reported were single at the time the child was born; 24 were married and living with their wives during the time of the association with the mother of the child; 5 were married but were separated from their wives; 2 were widowers, and 1 was divorced.

OCCUPATION AT BIRTH OF CHILD

The histories showed the occupations of 98 of the men. Forty-nine were reported as being engaged in occupations which might be classed as skilled work. These included mechanics and mechanical workers, workers in the skilled trades, salesmen, and factory foremen or operators. Thirteen of the men were highly trained domestic workers and personal attendants, such as barbers, valets, and butlers. The men engaged in unskilled work numbered 17; they included unskilled laborers, farm hands, and teamsters. Twelve of the men were reported as business men, most of whom had their own business enterprises. Among these were a few farmers who owned their farms, and some of them were reported as prosperous. Three were professional men; and 4 were attending high school, college, or some special type of school.

HEALTH AND MENTALITY

Data in regard to the health and mentality of the fathers were very meager. In 30 of the 40 histories in which information as to physical condition was given it was stated that the man was in good health. Of the fathers reported as having some physical defect or being in ill health, one was blind, two were lame, five had a venereal disease, one had tuberculosis, and one a heart involvement.

The small group of histories that contained information as to the mental condition of the fathers—only 24 in all—included 1 case in which, after an examination, the father had been pronounced mentally defective. In the remainder of the cases in which this information was given it was stated that in the opinion of the worker the man was normal mentally.

EDUCATION

Information as to the education of the fathers was given in only 22 histories. Of these, 5 had completed the eight elementary grades; 4 had not completed these grades; 2 had completed high school; and 2 had received education beyond high-school work (1 of these was a college graduate and the other a college student). Of the 9 remaining, 6 were reported as "educated" or "well educated," and 3 (foreign born) were reported as "literate."

HOME AND LIVING CONDITIONS AT BIRTH OF CHILD

Information was given as to the home and living conditions of only 66 of the fathers. Twenty-six were living with one or both parents, and 1 was living with his uncle. The others lived in boarding houses

or rooming houses or in homes of their own; 24 were married and living with their wives. In 17 cases the father of the child was living in the same house as the mother when she became pregnant. In 11 of these the father was boarding in the mother's home, or the mother was employed in the home of the father, or the mother and the father were living together in a home that they had established. In 4 of these 11 cases the man involved was a relative of the girl; in 2 cases he was her father, in 1 her brother, and in 1 her uncle. One father was the brother-in-law of the mother, and another was the mother's foster father.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The place in the community of the children included in this study may be regarded as similar in many respects to that of children of legitimate birth. At the time of the last information a considerable proportion of these children were members of family groups, sharing normal home life. In almost all cases those who had reached maturity had been successful in their various relationships. Most of the children had been under the personal care of their mothers, either in a home established by the mother—usually through marriage, in the home of relatives, or, in a smaller number of cases, in the mother's place of employment or in a boarding home. A few children, although remaining in the custody of the mothers, had been cared for away from them in boarding homes or institutions.

Although it is recognized that there are cases in which a child of illegitimate birth may not be provided for adequately by his own people the presumption is in favor of placing him with them whenever possible. No child should be committed to the care of anyone not a relative until it is absolutely certain that such a course is necessary and that the child's interests demand it. In a few cases included in this study the child was placed at an early age with a person not a relative; and later the circumstances changed, so that his relatives received him into their home. These late replacements warn against hasty action in placing any child permanently, such as is taken in many cases merely because the child is of illegitimate birth.

In a large proportion of the cases the number of changes in environment and care was not great; and it was shown that such changes as were necessary were usually made with the advice and assistance of the organization that assisted the mother in her first adjustment. This meant an important saving for the children, for too great care can not be exercised in safeguarding a child from the unhappy effects of successive removals from one environment to another. The danger in severing family ties is especially serious.

> A family does not have the characteristic found in some forms of vegetable life which enables the broken segments of a plant to take root immediately in new soil. A child is not transplanted from one mode of life to another without suffering keenly in the process of adapting himself to the new environment, enduring fears and uncertainties and questionings that are unanswered. He may accept the separation from his own family and companions placidly, and it may be essential for his own development that he should be removed into other surroundings. But in general, the permanent or long-time separation of a child from his own kindred is likely to affect seriously the child's mental and emotional life.[1]

The need of the mothers for guidance and the need of children for various kinds of service were demonstrated amply in the findings reported in the histories. The manner in which such assistance was

[1] Child Dependency in the District of Columbia, p. 6. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 140. Washington, 1924.

received leaves no question as to its advisability. In fact, it was quite clearly shown that the mothers frequently sought the help of those who already knew the facts as to the parentage of their children, which they would have been unwilling to reveal to others. Unfortunately, many of the maternity homes were not equipped to provide aftercare for the mothers, although some were affiliated with agencies giving such care.

There is great need for the development of case-work methods by institutions and agencies caring for unmarried mothers and their children.[2] Although in many of the cases included in the study the case work was admirable, there were some histories in which it was evident from the limited data obtained that case work was neglected. This was particularly noticeable in the lack of information about the fathers and the lack of efforts to establish paternal responsibility. The results obtained by those organizations that endeavored to locate the men and to fix responsibility for the support of their children should stimulate others to do the same. The absence of information concerning the fathers in so many cases would seem to indicate that even among persons whose primary object is to assist the unmarried mother and her child, there is unwittingly something of an effort to protect the man. Another indication of inadequate case work was the failure of some organizations to find out about the actual relations of the mothers and the children with the people in their communities or even sometimes with their own families. About one-third of the histories did not give information on the ostensible status of the child and the mother in the community.

The work of social-service organizations dealing with unmarried mothers has been marked in recent years by a decided change in certain aspects of the policies of deception practiced for the protection of the mothers and children. As has been shown for the 27 agencies and institutions considered in this study there is a tendency toward establishing the mother and child on a basis of truth in the close and intimate relationships of their lives.

Although an increasing number of organizations now insist that near relatives and others intimately associated with the mother and her child know their true status, only a small proportion of the organizations cooperating in this study appeared to appreciate the necessity for giving the child true information about himself. Some of the case histories reported by the organizations show the fears and emotional disturbances to which the children were subjected as a result of not knowing the truth, which are typical of experiences known to many social workers who continue contact with children of illegitimate birth through their school life and in later years. Not only were boys and girls represented even to themselves as children of grandparents or other relatives, while their own mothers were supposed to be their cousins or sisters, but a few were represented as adopted children even when they were living with their own fathers and mothers.

On account of the smallness of their number the cases in which it was shown that the status of the mother and child was known in the community without any marked handicap resulting may not serve as

[2] The local illegitimacy conferences affiliated with the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy (see p. 4) are doing much in certain cities to stimulate such development.

a basis for concluding that this plan may be adopted by every unmarried mother or even by the majority. Still, its results, as shown in these few instances, lend encouragement to the plan. At least these mothers were free from the fear of discovery that pervaded the lives of many who assumed a false status. The histories showed that the mothers and children whose status was known had a position in the community strengthened by the moral backing of relatives or other persons in whose homes they shared family life. Such moral support is absolutely essential for the success of this plan.

Application for assistance was made to maternity homes in many cases because of the mother's need for help in obtaining prenatal and confinement care or her desire to conceal the fact of her pregnancy from relatives and friends. The need for material relief and for assistance in obtaining employment or in finding a boarding home for the child while the mother was at work were the most important reasons given for the application of the mothers to agencies other than maternity homes. Although in some cases the mother received assistance from the father or from relatives of the father or her own relatives, the histories indicate that it was necessary for a large majority of them to have some gainful employment in order to provide for the children. A number of them married, and their husbands provided for the children in their own homes. In most cases, however, these marriages did not occur until after the mother had provided for the child through her own efforts for a considerable period of time.

The findings of the study suggest that the following measures are desirable in assisting unmarried mothers to keep their children with them:

(1) Affiliation of maternity homes with children's agencies in order that provision may be made for supervision of children when they are discharged from a maternity home.

(2) Provision by social agencies for temporary care in boarding homes or institutions for unmarried mothers and their children who are not readily adjusted in the home of relatives, in their places of employment, or in other family homes.

(3) Greater willingness on the part of both public and private agencies to aid unmarried mothers in caring for their children.

(4) More intensive attempts by social agencies to establish paternity in order that part, at least, of the support of children of illegitimate birth may be obtained from their fathers.

The purpose of this report was not to prescribe the method or methods of care suitable for the child born out of wedlock but to interpret the results of the experience of a number of workers in the plan of keeping the children with their mothers. These results have proven to be gratifying in that the children, with few exceptions, were shown to have been successfully absorbed into the life of their communities. The results also indicate the need for careful study at each step in working out acceptable solutions to the individual case problems, both to help the child concerned and to further the correlation of data which will serve as means toward improved technique in case work and a broadening vision for the education of the community toward its final obligation of justice to the child.

APPENDIX

OUTLINE SUPPLIED BY CHILDREN'S BUREAU TO ORGANIZATIONS REPORTING CASE HISTORIES FOR THE STUDY OF CHILDREN OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH WHOSE MOTHERS HAVE KEPT THEIR CUSTODY

INSTRUCTIONS

Purpose of the study.

To obtain information from case histories which will show the effects on the child and on the mother of the plan of keeping them together. The term "keeping them together" is rather broadly defined to include any cases where the custody and contact of the child have been retained by the mother, though the child has not lived continuously with her. It is essential that the child know his own people and that they have taken responsibility for him.

Plan of study.

The aim is to collect as large a number as possible of case histories, which will be written into histories by workers knowing the cases or having access to the original records. An outline is here included, which workers writing the histories are asked to follow in order that the material assembled may present the uniformity necessary for incorporating it into a general report. A certain number of the histories will be published in the form in which they are sent into the bureau. No identifying information is to be included in the histories. No history will be published except in accordance with the wishes of the agency furnishing the material. Data from all the histories collected will be compiled.

Length of histories.

Workers are asked to limit their histories to as brief a space as is consistent with a clear presentation. A maximum of five pages, typewritten, double spaced, is suggested.

Age of child.

It is preferable that the child be at least 10 years old, but cases of children from 8 years old who are well established in school will be accepted. The older the child, even if he be an adult, the better; the greater the number of years through which the plan has been tried, the more valuable will be the knowledge of the results as an indication of its success or failure.

Selection of cases.

The cases selected for the study should not be chosen on the basis of successful work only. The most desirable plan would be for an agency to select all cases, now in contact, where the child has reached the age of 8 years.

Note.

Each history should be numbered or marked by some code, in order that it may be identified in any correspondence which may be necessary between the writer and the Children's Bureau after the histories are forwarded to the bureau. The side headings of the following outline should be used as side headings in the case summary, and the scope indicated for each should be followed in the write-up. Observe carefully the items calling for specific data.

It is desired that the case histories should be written up in a readable, connected, interesting form, but it is essential that all the significant facts that are known should be included.

HISTORY

Name of agency, institution, or other organization. City. Year of child's birth. Sex of child. Race or nationality of mother and father. Ages of mother and father at birth of child. Number of years agency or institution has had contact. State whether contact has been continuous or intermittent. State the different periods of care, giving length of time and reason for closing and reopening case. Who referred case to another agency or institution? Reason for referring.

Mother's status and general circumstances when case was referred.

Was she a married woman illegitimately pregnant (single, widow, divorcee)? How old was she? Had the child been born? What was her economic situation? What was the attitude of her family, and what was her relation to them? What was the mother's plan at that time?

Mother's background.

Her character, education, health. Her attitude toward keeping her child. The determining factor in influencing her to keep her baby. Mentality (state whether determined by mental examination or judgment of worker). Work history and occupation before birth of child.

Father's background.

Character, education, health, mentality, occupation, and wages. Was he single, married man living with his family, divorced, separated, or deserting?

Chronological history of case to the present time.

Plan of the agency or institution for the mother and the baby when they were discharged from care. The relation between mother and child through the years. Various plans for them—mother's employment and factors governing it; living conditions—use of boarding homes and institutions; acceptance of child by relatives. Child's education; health; mentality (state whether determined by mental examination or a matter of opinion of worker). Paternal responsibility—if assumed, by what means—marriage, agreement to support child; compelled by court to support child. Contact of father with child and with mother.

Present status of mother and child.

When and under what conditions each is living at present. If the mother has married, is her husband the child's father, or another man? How old was the child when the mother married? State the effect on the child of the marriage. Attitude of stepfather toward the child and the child's relation to him. Does the child know of his illegitimate birth? If so, when and how was he told of it? How did he react to the knowledge and what has been its subsequent effect on him? If the mother is still single, what is her ostensible status in her community? If her true status and that of her child are known, what is the attitude of the community toward each—particularly as expressed in the school, church, and Sunday school, on the playground—in those relationships which constitute the child's world. Future plans for the child. Mother's attitude toward having kept her child.

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